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SUPPOSITIONS ABOUT THE "MECHANISM OF CRIMINOSIS"

EDMUND BERGLER, M. D.*
New York City, N. Y.

1. THE DILEMMA BETWEEN OUR STATIC AND TRANSITORY IGNORANCE

It is not exactly a flattering psychiatric truism that we are ignorant of the psychologic reasons leading to criminality. It is agreed, however, that social *and* psychologic reasons often work together in the constitution of the phenomenon, crime. No reasonable person denies sociologic facts. That acknowledgment does not imply, however, that one should exaggerate their importance in *every* case, especially in those in which psychologic factors play the prime role. In some cases the social factor in criminal actions is either an excuse, or, more often, a rationalization for hidden unconscious motives, or the hitching point for the repetition of injustices experienced in reality or in phantasy in the child-mother-father relationship, afterward projected and perpetuated masochistically upon society or the social order in general. The more superficial rationalizations are often generally accepted *because* they seem "obvious." To avoid the old controversy in criminology—here, medical psychology, there, sociology—let us concentrate exclusively on cases in which the social facts play a practically unimportant role, the psychologic factors the decisive one, and let us ask whether we know something about the *genetic* factors.

Where does our ignorance in genetic criminology arise? Are there any reasons to assume that our transitory ignorance will remain in the future as a static factor as well? Our present ignorance is based first on lack of experience.⁽¹⁾ This seems strange, since tens of thousands are

* Formerly Assistant Director of the Psychoanalytic Clinic in Vienna

(1) One could mention an additional factor, a curious reserve against psychiatric research of criminality among many scientists. An amusing example is the introduction which J. B. S. Haldane, Fullerian Professor of Physiology, Royal Institution, London, wrote to J. Lange's "Crime and Destiny" (Charles Boni, N. Y., 1930):

"Why do people commit crimes? This question has been asked, and answered, ever since we have any record of human thoughts. In the Bible we find answers

inmates in different penal and corrective institutions in every country every single year. The material to be studied seems abundant; the means and the personnel are lacking. The only way of changing our deplorable ignorance would be a donation enabling, let us say, 50 psychoanalytically-trained psychiatrists to analyze in prisons for two years 500 criminals of all types. A cross section of the material obtained in that mass experiment might reasonably give the hope of coming to some compromise in conclusions. Strangely enough, no millionaire or group of millionaires has thought of that type of contribution. Until now there has been only one abortive attempt of that kind, which enabled two analysts to work with a few cases for nine months.⁽²⁾ The results of that attempt were neither encouraging nor discouraging, since, first, the cases selected were one-sided (in general, stealing), second, the length of time was inadequate, and third, a few cases are not a sufficient basis for conclusions. On the other hand, material was gathered which showed the specific difficulties of exploratory analysis in prisons and also confirmed indirectly an old suspicion concerning therapy of "criminosis"—the exaggerated amount of self-damaging tendencies. Especially significant seems to me a case described by one of the two physicians, of a young man, who, hearing of the possibility of being analyzed in prison, gave himself up in order to undergo psychoanalysis, received two years' prison term for previous offenses (there were warrants out for him), but discontinued analysis after a short time with threadbare excuses.

Since it is not possible to induce millionaires to devote money to criminologic research, we can, in the meantime, use only the tangential

of various kinds. Evil acts are sometimes put down to supernatural intervention, as when the serpent tempted Eve, and the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart. Sometimes they are ascribed to the influence of another man, as when Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, made Israel to sin. In other passages the source of evil is placed quite emphatically within us. According to Jeremiah, 'The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: Who can know it?' And Jesus said, 'Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, things which defile a man.' Now in the Bible spiritual things are described in parables, that is to say, symbolically. We know today that the heart has very little to do with moral behavior. Heart disease does not lead to evil conduct . . ."

Haldane takes the word "heart" literally, despite the fact that it was always used allegorically as the seat of feelings. When, f. i., the famous French writer, Stendhal, made his statement: "Je suis observateur du coeur humain," he did not mean that his profession was that of a cardiologist. The word "heart" meant in olden times with regard to feelings something similar, though naively expressed, to what we would call in more modern terminology the "unconscious."

(2) Alexander and Healy, "Roots of Crime," Alfred Knopf, 1935.

material which comes to our attention in private practice, or we can draw hypothetical "conclusions." In a previous paper,⁽³⁾ I emphasized the banal fact that neurosis and "criminosis" are by no means identical, a fact known and *theoretically* acknowledged but *practically* often overlooked. I explained that misunderstanding, which can be found between the lines of many a publication, by pointing out the fallacy of analogies. Since Freud's psychoanalysis has proved that in neurosis unconscious mechanisms are used, it is attempted to use the same approach in explaining criminosis. Unfortunately, the psychologic *contents* of an action do not explain the actual *motor act* executing the action itself. The motor act, however, is the real conundrum of crime. An additional factor or factors explaining the motor act must be found to explain a criminal action. Since the direct means, observation through the analytic microscope, is unavailable—the "microscope" is ready, the trained eyes of hundreds of observers are accessible, but the money necessary to put them into action is lacking—we still have the possibility of imagining. Scientifically speaking, we can build theories and hypotheses. I don't know if my teacher in English was correct when he answered my question, "How do you express in English something that is *even less founded than a hypothesis?*", with the laconic, precise, and firm statement, "Supposition." If he informed me correctly, I want to speak about some "suppositions." I cannot be accused of having any illusions about the groundwork of sand on which I build my "suppositions."

First, let us clarify the issue. *In every criminal action two factors are involved*—a varying one and a constant one. The *variable factor* is the *psychologic content*, which is multitudinous in form and may be different and must be specifically determined in every specific case. The variety of motives is as great as the variety of unconscious motives in general. The *constant factor* in crime is the unknown X which explains the *motor act* executing the criminal move itself.

In every criminal action, therefore, two things must be determined: the psychic contents (variable factor) and the constant and pathognomic factor accounting for the motor act. This constant and pathognomic factor I propose to call the "mechanism of criminosis." Our investigation pertains solely to that constant and additional factor or factors.

Since in every crime we deal with *two* factors (the variable one and the constant one), in approaching the problem we have to differentiate

(3) Hypocrisy: Its Implications in Neurosis and Criminal Psychopathology," *Journal Crim. Psychopath.*, IV, 4, 1943.

between the two in the following way: The *variable* factor explains the unconscious *contents* of a criminal action. To explain these contents we must use all of the knowledge of unconscious mechanisms with which Freud has provided us, so successfully applied to the explanation of human conduct in general: unconscious wishes, defense mechanisms, projection, identification, atonement of unconscious guilt feeling, etc. The *constant* factor, which I call the "mechanism of criminosity," is concerned, not with the varying psychologic contents of a specific crime, but with the *motor act* itself executing the results of the variable factor. I repeat, the real riddle in crime is the motor act. It borrows from the inexhaustible source of aggression, using it as the most primitive of human trends without revealing whether that aggression is primary or secondary (defence-aggression).

The problem resolves itself to finding the additional specific factor or factors explaining the motor act. The result up to date is not exactly promising. A few examples: *Sheldon* and *Eleanor Glueck*⁽⁴⁾ speak about "numerous factors, various circumstances, and uncontrollable forces either of psychological or social origin," as well as biological factors, responsible for the fact of crime. *Michael* and *Adler*⁽⁵⁾ state: "There is no scientific knowledge in the field of criminology. We have no knowledge of the causes of criminal behavior . . ." *Alexander* and *Healy*⁽⁶⁾ describe the oral regression in their criminologic material and believe that the "universal basis of criminal inclinations is the instability in the psychologic balance between social restrictions and gratifications" (p. 279), but in addition to using the "unknown selective principle in the social sphere" (p. 275), recur to *biologic factors*: "Thus, one cannot discard an earlier assumption of Alexander that certain unacquired bases of the instinctive life (constitution), apart from environmental influences, must be partly responsible for the fact that similar emotional conflicts may, depending on the makeup of the individual, result either in criminality or in neurosis" (p. 289). The authors lay great stress on an "inner prestige motive;" "Criminality, especially stealing or robbery, is, then, an attempt to regain the lost self-esteem by a kind of pseudo-masculinity, but at the same time the criminality offers means of self-support and avoidance of the systematic effort involved in working" (p. 285). They answer the question as to why the same emotional conflicts which in

(4) "500 Criminal Careers," Knopf, N. Y.

(5) "Crime, Law, and Social Science," Harcourt, Brace, N. Y., 1933, p. 390.

(6) "Roots of Crime," l. c.

certain cases finds expression in psychoneurotic symptoms in other cases leads to criminal behavior as follows: "The chief difference between neurosis and criminal behavior is that in neurosis the emotional conflict results in symbolic gratification of unsatisfied urges, whereas in criminal behavior it leads to overt misdeeds. The emotional conflicts and deprivations of childhood, the resentment against parents and siblings, find a powerful ally in resentment against the social situation, and this combined emotional tension seeks a *realistic expression* in criminal acts and *cannot be relieved by mere phantasy products* that are exhibited in neurotic symptoms." (p. 288).

Despite all of these multitudinous explanations, one has the impression that no satisfactory answer is given, and that impression is best summed up in the words in which the authors themselves describe the results of their investigation of one case: "The question why the oral fixation in this case led to stealing and did not find its expression in neurotic symptoms remains unsolved" (p. 251). Bernard Glueck in a criticism⁽⁷⁾ of that book points out that the enthusiasm which such a first attempt provokes does not pertain to the results of that attempt. The original drives, as shown in the cases of Alexander and Healy, especially the oral ones, cannot be, as Glueck believes, the reasons for the criminal actions. Glueck reiterates the connection between environment and subjective factors in crime. He is very optimistic about the future possibilities of psychoanalytic investigations in criminology, but shows clearly his disappointment with the results so far.

Schilder and Keiser published in 1936 "A Study in Criminal Aggressiveness."⁽⁸⁾ They studied the cases of male criminals committed to the Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital for observation, either before or after conviction for crime. The material, which was not analyzed because of limitation in time, covers nine cases. Furthermore, a questionnaire was submitted to 50 criminals and 25 non-criminals. The authors come to the following conclusions:

"... We conclude that in many instances *aggressive action is a reactive state resulting from a sense of passivity*. This passivity is frequently felt as identical with homosexual trends and fears of anal abuse, and is often felt by the individual to be synonymous with femininity. He therefore attempts to overcome his sense of femininity by acting out

(7) *Imago*, 1936, pp. 476-477.

(8) *Genetic Psychology Monographs* XVIII, Nos. 5, 6.

those attributes which are commonly considered the earmarks of masculinity, that is, aggressive behavior.

"This original sense of passivity is at times reactive to overwhelming severity of the educative forces in childhood, so that none of the native aggressiveness can be expressed, but only held in storage. This energy when released shatters all of the hitherto restraining forces and frequently becomes an exquisite expression of masculinity and aggressiveness.

"In others, a native physical weakness, or some abnormality, is so stressed that the individual feels forced psychically into a submissive role. But his aggressive forces also will not accept a denial of all outlets.

"That non-criminals can so easily express verbally their aggressive desires is indicative of the smoother flow of tension from aggressivity to passivity. There are no wide swings of the pendulum, but a moderate arc is described in the swing of their aggressive and passive impulses. The criminal expresses and frequently lives a markedly passive existence, save for, or until, his criminally aggressive acts. This is frequently observed in the adolescent hold-up boy. A fundamental causative factor seems to be our socially conditioned concepts regarding masculinity and femininity. A male needs to fight off any sense of femininity by physical activity—a masculine trait. Perhaps we can teach that both are present in all and that the one is no more expressive of femininity than the other is of masculinity.

"The organization of the ego plays an important part in the problem. The ego function can be impaired either by libidinous conflicts in childhood or by structural impairment. But the ideology plays an important part, as when the individual values physical fitness or prowess greatly, or when the environment approves of illegal violent behavior."

The paper of Schilder and Keiser is of greatest clinical value. The idea that aggressive criminality is "not a release but a counter-reaction" introduces for the first time the element of the defence mechanism into the explanation of criminal behavior of actual *murderers*.⁽⁹⁾ The conclusion is of such indisputable merit that it overweighs all objections to that paper. The most important objections to the paper are the two following: First, the reason for the use of criminal channels by that de-

⁽⁹⁾ That that pseudo-masculinity plays a role was previously hinted at by Alexander and Healy in their report on the cases of stealing.

fence mechanism and the factor which distinguishes it from a neurotic mechanism are not given in the general formulation, "One would conclude that aggressiveness comes to criminal acts when we deal either with specific defects in the ego structure or with an overpowering of the ego system by particular libidinous conflicts of especial strength or primitiveness." Second, in my opinion the mechanisms described by the authors are correct but represent only the *superficial layer*. Beneath it orality of a specific type is buried. (See Chapter II of this paper). However, if we enlarge thus their approach, we can perhaps reach one of the most important cores of criminality. Despite the objections to the paper, it represents pioneering and high originality, showing clearly the touch of Schilder's genius.

Zilboorg, in his just published book, "Mind, Medicine and Man,"⁽¹⁰⁾ devotes a whole chapter to the problem of "crime and judgment." These fifty pages represent a highly impressive analysis of the psychologic contradictions of the criminal law, showing also its historic development, its emphasis on the revenge-idea, and presenting a plea for acceptance of newer psychiatric findings. Pointedly Zilboorg states: "The law punishing the criminal has as much to do with the prevention of crime as the prohibition of the sale of firearms with the prevention of homicides" (p. 283). Strangely enough, Zilboorg's explanation of the phenomenon crime itself is disappointing: "The criminal commits the criminal act when his instinctual drives temporarily overcome the resistance of the super ego and thus overwhelm the ego, which is forced to do the bidding of the id" (p. 253). In other words, Zilboorg goes back far beyond Schilder-Keiser and Alexander-Healy, the former having assumed that the criminal action is an inner defence against passivity and femininity, the latter stressing the oral regression. As explained previously, Schilder and Keiser, in my opinion, merely scratch the surface; they do correctly observe the surface reverberations of a subterranean conflict, mistaking these reflections for the conflict itself. In Zilboorg's formulation crime is simply a volcanic eruption of id-wishes in specific circumstances. The whole problem of inner defence in crime is not mentioned. In my opinion, however, the direct eruption of Id-wishes is never clinically visible; what appears on the psychic surface is always the defence mechanism. In another paper⁽¹¹⁾ Zilboorg comes to an optimistic con-

(10) Harcourt Brace & Co., N. Y., 1943.

(11) "Investigative Psychotherapy in Certain Types of Criminals," N. Y. State J. Med., May, 1943.

clusion with regard to future psychiatric therapeutic possibilities in criminality: "The brief experience in Sing-Sing seems to suggest in a rather convincing manner that psychiatry could be therapeutically most effective in criminal cases if it were organized for this purpose independently of any agencies of criminal law."

The present situation can be summarized by saying that the following attempts have been made to explain the unexplained specific factor in criminal actions: shifting from the psychologic to the social side of the problem, involuntary or non-admitted identification of neurosis and criminosity (previously, of psychosis and criminosis), emphasis on unknown biologic factors, emphasis on quantitative increase of affective elements showing up in neuroses.⁽¹²⁾ All of these attempts, with the exception of the significant and important papers quoted above and many other not mentioned here—it is, of course, not my intention to give a review of the literature—are either fallacious, or avoid the issue, or shift the responsibility for finding the reasons for criminosis to other sciences. We cannot escape the obligation that only medical psychopathology must solve the medical psychiatric issue involved in the specific qualitative factor in criminosis.

II. *Suppositions, suppositions, nothing but suppositions.*

We have reason to suspect that a criminal action represents an attempt to solve an *inner* conflict with *qualitatively* specific means which are different from every known type of neurotic, perverse, and psychotic "solution."

My personal experience has taught me, to my surprise, that all cas-

⁽¹²⁾ Another, more tragic example of that fallacy is the "cause célèbre" of Halsmann. The reactionary medical faculty of Innsbruck, Austria, was asked to express its opinion of the reason that a young Latvian Jew, Halsmann, killed his father, a crime which the defendant denied and which could be "proven" only by doubtful circumstantial evidence. The partly Nazi faculty decided that Halsmann had an oedipus complex which was operative ("wirksam"). Freud objected to that biased nonsense, pointing out the universality of that complex. Said Freud: "Even if the conflict between father and son could be proven, one must say that there is a long distance between that conflict and the causative factors of such a crime." Freud illustrated his point by a joke. A man was sentenced for robbery on the ground of circumstantial evidence, having been arrested near the robbed apartment with a skeleton key in his pocket. Asked if he had anything to add when his sentence had been passed, he replied that he wanted to be sentenced also because of adultery, having that "key," too, in his pocket. ("Das Fakultätsgutachten im Prozess Halsmann," Ges. Schr. XII, p. 412). The "long distance" mentioned by Freud is exactly the distance between our present ignorance and the finding of the "specific factor" in crime.

es⁽¹³⁾ which I have observed in private practice who either came chronically in conflict with the law or were only by chance or favorable external circumstances not detected or prosecuted by the law were persons regressed orally. This finding seems to confirm Alexander and Healy's statement that the receptive-oral tendency is of greatest importance for criminal actions. However, our definition of "orality" differs. According to those two authors, orality seems to be simply the expression of the getting-desire stemming from the oral phase, in combination with the aggressive wish of taking away. In my conception of orality the getting-wish is entirely substituted by the masochistically-centered revenge-desire. I regard it as a clinical necessity to acknowledge the clinical fact that oral patients in their neurotic behavior no longer pursue the fulfillment of their infantile wish—the getting-desire—but are rather set entirely upon *revenge* for the oral denial. (1) Unconsciously, they are constantly constructing and concocting situations in which they are disappointed. (2) Then, so to speak in self-defence, they throw themselves upon their self-constructed or imaginary enemies with the sharpest aggression, repressing everything but the feeling of "righteous indignation," especially repressing the unconscious provocation. (3) As the final act, they revel in self-pity; expressed analytically, they unconsciously psychically enjoy "masochistic" pleasure. This triad has been described by me several times.⁽¹⁴⁾ I have called it the "mechanism of orality," and I assume it to be pathognomic for all oral neuroses.

In the case histories in Chapter III the reader will find ample examples of that "mechanism of orality."

That mechanism was found by me in *neurotic* cases. It is *not* directly applicable to *criminal* cases, since it does not explain the motor act. The "mechanism of orality" exhausts itself in the constant unconscious

(13) I exclude psychotic cases as well as cases in which justified doubt is permissible as to what degree social factors enter the picture, obscuring the psychologic aspects.

(14) The Problem of the Oral Pessimist," Imago, 1934. "Talleyrand, Napoleon, Stendhal, Grabbe," *Internat. Psychoan. Verlag*, 1935. "Some Special Forms of Ejaculatory Disturbance Hitherto Not Described," *Int. Zeitschr. f. Psychoan.*, 1934, and *Internat. J. Psychoan.*, 1935. "Obscene Words," *Psychoan. Quart.*, No. 5, 1936. "Ejaculatio Praecox," *Psychiatr. en Neur. Bladen* (Amsterdam), 1937. "Further Observations on the Clinical Picture of 'Psychogenic Oral Aspermia'," *Int. Journ. Psychoan.*, 1937. "Psychic Impotence in Men" (Monograph), Med. Edition, Huber, Berne, 1937. "Preliminary Phases of Masculine Beating Phantasy," *Psychoan. Quart.*, 1938. "On the Psychoanalysis of the Ability to Wait and Impatience," *Psychoan. Rev.*, 1939. "Four Types of Neurotic Indecisiveness," *Psychoan. Quart.*, 1940. The Psychological Interrelation Between Alcoholism and Genital Sexuality," *J. Crim. Psychopath.*, No. 1, 1942. "The Gambler: A Misunderstood Neurotic," *Ibid.*, No. 3, 1943.

constellation of situations in which someone is unjust, giving the person who provoked the injustice the alibi of defence-aggression and producing the unconscious pleasure of self-pity. The "mechanism of criminosis" differs in the following points:

1. Despite the fact that the starting point—feeling of being unjustly treated by the pre-oedipal mother—is identical in both the oral and criminosis mechanisms, it leads to different reactions. The *oral neurotic* sufferer creates the triad comprising the mechanism of orality. His feeling of helplessness is overcome by two devices. First, he repeats *actively* what he experienced originally *passively*, using the "unconscious repetition compulsion" (Freud), which restores the mortified narcissism. Second, he seems to overcome his feeling of helplessness toward the pre-oedipal mother by feeling consciously that he is aggressive in self-defence, despite the fact that he enjoys unconsciously psychic masochistic pleasure. The *criminotic sufferer* acts similarly to begin with, but his feeling of helplessness is seemingly not overcome. The motor action in criminosis is based on the inner feeling of *being incapable of making the mother even feel that he seeks revenge on her*. The situation is that of a dwarf trying to annoy a giant who refuses to see these attempts. *There is a direct relation between the herostratic tendency in criminosis and the feeling of helplessness in making evident that revenge*. Because of his feeling of being a dwarf, the criminal uses, so to speak, dynamite. Of that the giant must take cognizance. This feeling of helplessness has nothing to do with "feeling of inferiority," feeling of being unmanly and feminine, with aggression in defence against it. It is a sensation which the child has *before* these other terms have any meaning for him. It is this deep feeling of dwarfism which the child in the criminal cannot "take." Secondarily, masculine and feminine identification and defence against passivity take place, as Schilder and Keiser have shown; however, they represent a *later* reflection of an early development.

Every criminal action has something herostratic about it. Herostratos was the individual who, in 356 B. C., burned the famous temple of Artemis in Ephesos in order to become "renowned." Our herostratic criminals perform similar acts with another purpose; to force the mother of their first childhood to acknowledge that they are at least *capable of taking revenge upon her*. The deepest core of the criminal's conflict is the pre-oedipal helplessness and the feeling that the mother and her successive representatives do not believe that the child can help

himself, even in revenge. That is the basis of the criminal's not being able to "take it." Characteristically enough, sometimes that problem appears on the surface with rationalizations. For instance, Schilder and Keiser report (l. c. p. 368): "D. N., a boy of 16, was admitted to the Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital for observation, charged with assault and robbery. In company with another boy, he held up and shot a *female* subway agent. His *reason for shooting her was to convince her that he was not fooling* . . . In the foreground is a fear of passivity . . ."

2. The disproportion between the official reason for a criminal action and the exaggerated crime itself is explainable when we take into account that the underlying unconscious motive is the herostratic compensation for that deep feeling of helplessness to take revenge masochistically.

3. The unconscious acceptance of punishment is an inner prerequisite of every criminal action. One must not be fooled by the fact that this need of punishment does not appear on the surface. There are reasons to believe that the amount of self-damaging tendencies in criminosis is far greater than in every known neurosis.

4. The role of inner exhibitionism in criminal actions seems to have a disproportionate importance. The criminal's sense of self-preservation directs him to hide his crime, since *consciously* he does not want to be punished. His unconscious exhibitionistic-masochism, on the other hand, wants to show up his deed, to prove to the mother that he was able to take revenge. The typical self-betraying "mistakes" of criminals are determined, not only by their unconscious need for punishment, but also by their unconscious need to exhibit the negation of their helplessness.

A more detailed differential diagnosis of the mechanism of orality and criminosis is found in the following tabulation:

"Mechanism of orality" in neurosis

"Mechanism of criminosis"

1. Starting point: the feeling that the mother of the pre-oedipal period (or her representatives) is unjust and denying.

Starting point: identical.

2. The feeling of deep injustice leads to the *triad*:

(a) Construction or misuse of situations to force someone identified with the phallic mother into the role of being unjust and denying.

(b) Repression of the provocation, with conscious feeling only of righteous indignation and resultant counter-aggression, seemingly in self-defence.

(c) Punishment from the outer world, unconsciously enjoyed masochistically, for that counter-aggression. The triad helps the neurotic to overcome his deep feeling of passivity by the facade of pseudo-aggressiveness.

3. Symptomatic and characterologic difficulties exhaust the need for punishment.

4. Exhibitionism plays a relatively unimportant role.

5. Super Ego is appeased by unhappiness resulting from self-constructed defeats which do not endanger the life.

6. Quantitative amount of inner passivity; insufficient to disrupt the Ego.

The feeling of deep injustice leads to the triad of the "mechanism of orality," with the following modification: The real or fancied frustration in early childhood results in absolute helplessness with regard to forcing the mother to acknowledge the child's ability of taking revenge. That inner helplessness is counteracted by a *herostratic act* (crime in its different phases) to force the mother (or her successive representatives) to acknowledge the child's ability to take revenge.

Social ostracism, prison or capital punishment, unconsciously desired.

Exhibitionism is indispensable; it is used to demonstrate to the phallic mother representative that the child is powerful enough to force her to *see* that he is not helpless. (See next point.)

Super Ego is appeased by expectation of punishment; therefore allows the "proof" of the mother's evilness. Self-betraying "mistakes" are necessary to appease unconscious need for punishment and also unconscious need to exhibit denial of helplessness to take revenge.

Inner passivity present in greater amount; defence against it stronger, in form of herostratic criminal deed. Paradoxically, the most passive of persons is the criminal with an over-inflated defence.

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| 7. Sense of depression prevails. | Sense of depression is absorbed by herostratic act and expectation of punishment. |
| 8. Childlike megalomania is satisfied in concoction of masochistic situation. | Childlike megalomania prevents the criminal action from being a "perfect crime," since the assumption, "Nothing can happen to me," based on the unconscious wish to be punished, and lack of complete thinking through of all possibilities, based on the same self-damaging factor, work against that goal. |

The idea that the criminal has not developed an inner conscience seems absurd to me. If his conscience does not prevent criminal deeds—as does a normal person's—the question arises as to what specific means he uses to appease his conscience. The problem is complicated, since the whole development of the Super Ego is still controversial, even in psychoanalytic literature. The very few facts known and more or less accepted are these: The core of the Super Ego consists of the introjected educational authority (mother-father and their successive representatives), as shown by Freud. What is introjected, however, is by no means the real mother and father, but the mother and father as the child sees them, through the spectacles of his own projections, as has been stressed by English analysts. When, therefore, the child projects a great deal of his own aggression upon his parents, he later introjects them as cruel and malicious, even though in reality they are mild and benevolent. To complicate matters further, the whole structure of the inner conscience is not fully understandable unless one takes into account Freud's Eros-Thanatos theory.⁽¹⁵⁾

The Super Ego makes itself clinically visible in its effects: feeling of guilt, need for punishment, sense of depression. In criminal action that need for punishment is clearly visible. All of the little mistakes which criminals make leading to their detection have also their affective basis in the need for punishment. *Th. Reik* has devoted two excellent

(15) Such an attempt was made by Jekels and myself in "Transference and Love," *Imago*, 1934. The problem is too complicated to be discussed here; the reader who is interested in that hypothesis is referred to the original.

books to that problem,⁽¹⁶⁾ which represent a brilliant and informative approach to the subject of the need of punishment.

The next problem is to what degree the feeling of guilt is the simple consequence of a criminal deed. How complicated this problem is becomes visible in comparing the following statements:

Schilder and Keiser: "We have no definite reason to believe that the wish for punishment, although present, is one of the outstanding factors . . ." (l. c., p. 368). "As with most criminals, he wants to be punished, but not too severely. It is the attitude of the child, who regains the love of his parent after punishment." (p. 367).

Zilboorg: ". . . As soon as the impulse is discharged and the special id drives are thus temporarily gratified and silenced, the super-ego re-establishes itself and asserts its demands. Even the hard, defiant criminal then feels unconsciously repentent. His challenging, snarling, boisterous defiance of the law, or his sullen, apparently indifferent, emotionless attitude is in most cases but an automatic covering, boastful or humbled, of the sense of guilt. The writer has never failed to find it deeply buried in the unconscious of apparently confirmed criminals of whom he had the opportunity to make a psychological study within the walls of a prison. Many criminals, as a result of this inner penance, kill themselves soon after the crime . . ." (l. c. pp. 253-254).

I personally disagree with all three authors with regard to the disposition of the feeling of guilt. I disagree with Schilder and Keiser since I believe that the *unconscious feeling of guilt has the place of pivotal importance in criminal deeds and is automatically included in the deeds*. If the criminal did not know unconsciously that he would be punished, if he did not project his expected punishment upon the juridical and penal authorities, making them the executive organ of his own Super Ego, his feeling of guilt would prevent his deed in the first place. Only *because* he projects that expectation of punishment does he appear often detached and sometimes without penitance.⁽¹⁷⁾ I disagree with Zilboorg because of his conception of crime. For him, the criminal action represents a volcanic eruption of repressed Id-wishes followed by feeling of guilt. In my opinion, crime is not the outburst of an Id-wish but a defence against it executed by highly complicated means. The feeling of guilt does not appear post facto but is embedded

(16) "Geständniswanz und Strafbedürfnis," *Int. Psycho. Verlag*, Vienna, 1925. "Der Unbekannte Mörder," *Ibid*, 1932.

(17) However, should the Schilder-Keiser assumption prove correct, to my surprise, it would give us a possibility for a successful therapy of criminosis.

in the deed itself. *Only that unconscious expectation of punishment makes the criminal action possible.*

It is confusing to try to realize that the criminal is not the embodiment of aggression but of passivity, with an over-inflated pseudo-aggressive defence. We are often confronted with the question: "Why is the criminal so aggressive?" That impression is the result of his cruel *action* and not of his genetic *structure*. Basically, we have to resign ourselves to the fact that aggression is one of the inborn drives. Every cultural development tends to restrict murderous aggression and to sublimate it. In this respect Freud was very explicit, as is proven in his work, "Civilization and Its Discontent." Child-analysis has contributed further proof of this natural aggressive drive. Melanie Klein and her followers have done good work on the subject, despite the fact that many of their interpretations are controversial. From the psychiatric field a highly important work on that subject has to be stressed, "Aggressiveness in Children," by L. Bender and P. Schilder.⁽¹⁸⁾

The technique with which the criminal's unconscious Ego appeases the Super Ego has already been described. I would like to stress one of the techniques of disarming the Super Ego as described in my study on "Hypocrisy."⁽¹⁹⁾

Schilder and Keiser believe that aggressive criminal deeds are a reaction to an "enormous passivity." They point to the ideologically-based idea in our culture that masculinity and virility, passivity and femininity are identical. As a defence against that femininity criminal aggression is used. They may be right, but they are stressing only the superficial layer. Buried deep beneath that oedipal defence is the pre-oedipal passivity. The best proof is in the fact which the authors mention repeatedly—that the criminal is afraid of homosexual relations. They do not take into account, however, the oral, pre-oedipal basis of homosexuality.⁽²⁰⁾

The appearance in rationalizations of the desire to show the mother-representative one's ability to take revenge on her is illustrated in one of the best psychologic descriptions of a murder in belles lettres, Dostojevski's "Crime and Punishment." In this Raskolnikof doubts consistently his ability to go through with his plan of killing the old female pound-broker, and convinces himself only by means of actually

(18) Gen. Psychoan. Monograph, 1936, Nos. 5, 6.

(19) J. Crim. Psychopath., 1943, IV.

(20) See Bergler-Eidelberg, "The Breast Complex in the Male," *Int. Zeitschr. f. Psychoan.*, 1933.

committing the murder. The same holds true in the logically-senseless murder in Aldanow's "The Fifth Seal," to mention a "modern" description.

One of the results of Freud's work is the clinical proof that the psychologic gap between the normal and criminal personality is not so wide as previously assumed. The unconscious of even the most normal person harbors enough forbidden wishes. Great psychologists have always known this fact, best expressed in Goethe's statement that there is no crime he could not have *imagined* having committed. Another example is the allusion of Balzac in "Père Goriot" to a passage of J. J. Rousseau, in which that author asks the reader how he would behave if, without leaving Paris and without being detected, he could kill with his thoughts only an old mandarin in Peking whose death would be of great advantage for him. Balzac lets us suspect that he is not of the opinion that the mandarin's life is very secure. "Tuer son mandarin" has remained, as Freud once remarked, the prototype for that inner preparedness for aggression in the cultured human being. W. Stekel was so impressed by these "criminal" tendencies that he wanted to enlarge Freud's statement that the child is endowed with a "polymorph-perversion" by saying that it is also endowed with a "universal criminality." His pupils, for instance Gutheil, elaborated on that assumption. There are strong objections to that assumption. The most precise objection was formulated by Schilder, Bender and Keiser: "It has been said that children are criminals, but such a formulation is of course senseless. Human actions and attitudes are what they are merely in a *specific social setting*, and the *social setting of the child and the criminal are fundamentally different*. It is true that fundamental trends of human psychology are particularly expressed in children, and the understanding of these trends may help in the analysis of the aggressive criminal" ("Studies in Aggressiveness," p. 554).

III. Nine examples from "tangential" material

What follow are short excerpts from case histories in which problems of criminology were discussed in a tangential manner. In other words, the patients did not come into treatment because of their criminal deeds; quite the contrary. The material was accidentally or involuntarily produced and often accompanied by secrecy and conscious non-collaboration on the part of the patient. Still, in it can be found certain clues to our problem.

Case 1. A man of 53 entered psychoanalysis without his volition. He had developed a writer's cramp and was sent by his health insurance company for analysis. (Health insurance was obligatory in pre-Hitler Austria.) The patient received benefit payments and would have forfeited them if he had not submitted to any prescribed treatment. He openly admitted that that was the only reason for his permitting "such nonsense as psychiatry." He refused to give any information about himself, was deeply suspicious, and proposed that if the physician would testify every time to his coming, he would save the physician's time by leaving at once. Since that "simplification" was rejected, he spent six weeks in sullen silence, obstructing all treatment consciously. The few "facts" which he revealed were that he did not remember his parents, was happily married, had no conflicts, was a well-paid employee of a large concern. He claimed that his duties were purely representative, paying visits to important old customers, having a friendly chat with them, and getting orders which the concern would get anyhow. One day, he said, he wanted to write the order of a customer and discovered that he could no longer write. He was alarmed about his cramp, consulted his physician, who recommended rest and after that electric treatment and "injections." After a few weeks the suspicion arose that the symptom was psychosomatic in origin, and the patient was sent to me. No further information could be elicited from him. Neither free associations, nor dreams, nor any other information were forthcoming. It was obvious that the man was consciously withholding information, but nothing could persuade him to be less reserved. Every attempt to break down his conscious sabotage was hopeless. I told him that in these circumstances further attempts at treatment were senseless and that I should have to discontinue the treatment. As a reaction the patient volunteered two dreams, the only two dreams which he did reveal, having denied previously that he ever dreamed. In the first he received an anonymous letter stating that his wife was a prostitute. In the second he was on trial before a court martial, for a crime which was not clear to him but which had something to do with money. No associations could be obtained from him; he sank once more into his sullen and suspicious silence. I attempted to gain some insight from them, having the following trend of thought: He harbored some unconscious aggression toward his wife, with resultant feeling of guilt which he tried to appease by finding her a "bad" woman. From the second dream one could surmise that his aggression toward his wife had some connection with a deep conflict about money (of course *not* in the trivial sense, that she

wanted a new dress, which he refused). Since his symptom—writer's cramp—suggested inhibition of repressed aggression,⁽²¹⁾ I concluded that his conflict was perhaps a repetition of childhood aggression projected upon his wife, the supposed conflict about money playing the role of a provocative agent, bringing to the surface old oral refusal phantasies. I told the patient that it was, of course, impossible to interpret the dreams without his cooperation, but ventured to guess: "I suspect that you hate your wife because of some unexpected and grave conflict about money." The patient's reaction was one of complete surprise. "How did you know?" Under the influence of "magic," as he called it, he gave me now a little information which was even more fantastic. The first part of his story was true. He loved his wife, who had waited for him for years when he was a prisoner of war in Siberia. Everything went well until her father, who had always been badly off financially, died suddenly and left a large sum of cash in a hidden place. No one knew where that money had come from. The suspicion arose that he had accumulated it during the War, perhaps by smuggling on the Swiss border. At any rate, the money was there, and the patient's wife and her sister began to quarrel over it. The latter's husband pretended to have always known about the hidden treasure; indeed, he even claimed that the old man had promised him half of it. He suggested that he receive 50% and the sisters divide the remainder; in other words, he and his wife proposed to receive 75%, conceding 25% to my patient and his wife. After many conflicts the Treasury Department confiscated the money because of unpaid taxes, permitting the sisters only a part of it provided that both sign the checks. A complete stalemate resulted. A further quarrel arose between my patient and his wife over her share of the money. He wanted her to buy him a café, hoping to quit his job immediately. His wife consented to buy it on the condition that he continue his job for two years, when he would become eligible for a pension. During one scene between them, the man became so furious that he "nearly killed her," as he expressed it. He threw at her a burning lamp filled with petrol (they lived at that time in the country and had no electric light). Her clothes caught fire, but it was extinguished. The man declared that he had thrown the lamp at a rat. With that obvious lie he patched up the quarrel, but he could not alleviate her suspicion, which she expressed precisely: "You wanted to kill me." After

(21) See the case history of another patient with writer's cramp in my contribution to "The Breast Complex in the Male," Bergler and Eidelberg, *Int. Z. F. Psychoan.*, 1933.

that manslaughter-assault he became "dizzy" and fell into "some kind of coma or sleep" lasting for 20 hours. Two days later he resumed his duties, but shortly thereafter produced his writer's cramp.

In the superficial layer his cramp had the purpose of forcing his wife to let him give up his position and buy the café. His choice of the right hand had a deeper significance, though. If his problem had been only about his work, he would have produced more conveniently a speech difficulty, since his main business was talking. Undoubtedly the cramp of the right hand, the hand of aggressive deeds, such as throwing the lamp, meant an unconscious inhibition of that murderous aggression. Deeper determining factors could not be found, since the patient discontinued treatment after asking me to convince his wife to buy his café. I did this, and perhaps they even lived happily afterward. The patient was not interested in having his symptom cured. The secondary gain was too great, since to be cured meant at the moment to be an agent once more; to remain sick meant to become the proprietor of a café.

The case is interesting because in it is seen the transition between a murderous deed and a neurotic symptom. The report is incomplete since analysis could not be performed. Only the suspicion could be expressed that repressed oral material was operative. His deep feeling of injustice at not being given the café and his choice of a café in itself pointed in that direction. Nothing could be elicited about his childhood history. He did admit, though, that at the height of the conflict he had consciously thought of killing his wife.

Case 2. A homosexual woman killed her 3-year-old child⁽²²⁾ many years before entering analysis in the following manner: On a vacation trip by car she refused to consult a physician when the child became sick, despite being warned by inn-keepers that the infant was seriously ill. She wanted to reach a certain place and did reach it, but the child, who had diphtheria, died soon afterward. That "incident with the child," as the patient called it, was not her reason for seeking treatment. She sought treatment only because of her homosexuality and her personality difficulties. Her family history was typical for oral cases: cruel, aggressive mother, weak father. Her mother beat the children mercilessly and was in general a sadistic educator. Analysis of the patient

⁽²²⁾ I reported that case in my paper, "The Respective Importance of Reality and Phantasy in the Genesis of Female Homosexuality," Case IV, Vol. 1, *J. Crim. Psychopath.*, July, 1943.

showed the typical oral substructure of female homosexuality (Jones and other English authors, H. Deutsch, Bergler). She was attached to that mother with a deep oral masochistic attitude ("mechanism of orality"). Partly to deny her masochistic attachment and partly to diminish her exorbitant feeling of guilt because of the defence-aggression, she produced in her homosexuality the alibi: "I don't hate her; I love her and her successive representatives." She repeated in her relation toward her own child a "negative magic gesture;"⁽²³⁾ her behavior represented an unconscious caricaturistic demonstration directed toward her mother: "I shall show you how badly you treated me; you would even let me die." In that identification the child was unconsciously identified with herself; on the other hand, she, as a real person, played unconsciously the role of the sadistic mother. For details see the original paper.

As mentioned before, the killing of the child in a round-about way was not the reason for her entering analysis. She admitted, however, that she had feeling of guilt after its death, but could never be brought to explain whether the killing was intentional or not. The weakness of her protests aroused suspicion. She went only so far as to admit that she had "played sometimes with the idea of being rid of her burden."

Case 3. A patient sought analysis because of kleptomania.⁽²⁴⁾ He treated his difficulties rather as a joke, and only through his uncle's persuasion did he see an analyst. In addition to being a kleptomaniac, he was a pathologic gambler and suffered from koprophemia.

He was the only child of a marriage of only a few months' duration. His father drowned before his birth. His mother, an energetic, high-strung, and obstinate woman, earned her living after her husband's death by managing a canteen near an army camp. She was promiscuous, and changed her lovers every few weeks. Of greatest importance in the patient's childhood was a scene which he witnessed in which a huge soldier, trying to force his mother to submit to intercourse, took out her right breast and squeezed it till the woman, half-conscious with pain, gave in. That recollection was repressed and came to the fore in the course of analyzing the patient's strange tendency in his late 'teens to try to seduce women by pressing their buttocks with force. The young man was at that time of the opinion that that technique represented the

⁽²³⁾ For details of that mechanism see my paper, "Thirty Years After Ferenczi's Development of the Sense of Reality," to appear in *Psychoan. Rev.*

⁽²⁴⁾ The case is described in detail in my papers, "The Psychology of the Gambler," *Imago*, 1936, and "Obscene Words," *Psychoan. Quart.*, 1936.

seduction par excellence, which no woman could resist. It became clear that he had shifted the emphasis from the breast to the buttocks, very likely because the original technique of seduction—as used by the soldier—had to be eliminated from consciousness since it activated old oral-sadistic wishes directed toward his mother.

His kleptomaniac activities started during puberty. They pertained first to electric bulbs only, which he destroyed in the lavatory, defecating upon them. Later, all manner of round objects were substituted; and finally, he stole without discrimination. One could prove in analysis that in every kleptomaniac action his oral hatred of the breast was repeated.

His Super Ego was "not unified." In childhood he was highly submissive to his "uncles," as his mother called her lovers. They constantly gave him different and contradictory commands. The case seems to substantiate Reich's opinion in his "Der Triebhafte Charakter." The patient's whole life was based on the "mechanism of orality." He spoiled every possibility for himself by his habitual provocations. No *conscious* feeling of guilt was visible; constant expectation of punishment absorbed all unconscious feeling of guilt. Though he came repeatedly into conflict with the law, his good humor was not disturbed by it.

I have analyzed five cases of kleptomania, including the one just mentioned. In every case the oral substructure was visible. Other authors have come independently to this same conclusion of the oral genesis of kleptomania (M. Klein and her followers, Staub,⁽²⁵⁾ Alexander, and others).

Case 4. A male homosexual entered analysis because his friend was being treated analytically.⁽²⁶⁾ Despite his pretences, he had no real desire at all to get rid of his homosexuality, his inner reason for coming being simply to be "nearer the enemy." He believed inwardly that he would thus be better prepared to counteract the change wrought analytically in his friend, especially by having the same analyst. The an-

(25) Staub's contributions to criminal psychopathology are of great importance. A criminal lawyer of distinction and imaginative psychotherapist, Staub worked with Alexander on "Criminals and Their Judges" and contributed many other papers on that subject, published in *Imago*. Unfortunately, Staub died last year, before having the opportunity of finishing his standard book on criminality.

(26) The case is described in my paper, "Eight Prerequisites for the Psychoanalytic Treatment of Homosexuality," lecture delivered at the N. Y. Psychoan. Soc., Dec. 22, 1942. To appear in *Psychoan. Rev.*

alysis revealed the typical oral substructure⁽²⁷⁾ of male homosexuality. The patient informed me after the first four weeks that he would have difficulty in paying next time, since his sick benefit payment had expired and he would have to pay the next fee for the first time out of his own pocket. To explain his financial embarrassment, he said that his employer would be present in the city at this time. At first I did not understand, and asked if he meant to say that he would not receive his salary because his chief would be absent. "No," he replied, "I mean present." The situation sounded suspicious and I pressed him for an explanation. Hesitating and yet laughing cynically, he informed me that in recent months he had been stealing money regularly from his office, and that this was possible only in his boss's absence. He had spent the stolen money on his homosexual friend, but now, as he graciously added, he wanted to make use of it for his analysis. I explained that I would not make myself his accomplice by permitting myself to be paid with stolen money. Hitherto the treatment had been paid by the sick-benefit money from his health insurance. If this source of payment was no longer available and he himself could not pay from his regular salary, the treatment would have to be postponed. In any case, I would break off treatment immediately. The patient was furious and told me that it was none of my business where the money for my fee was obtained; indeed, he accused me of hampering his cure. That he had provoked the entire affair himself he refused to see. His behavior was a typical example of the described "mechanism of orality."

Case 5. A patient had the habit of attacking policemen when drunk, thereby causing himself to be repeatedly arrested. The case cannot be explained without discussing the psychology of dipsomania, which is orally based. In my paper on dipsomania⁽²⁸⁾ I enumerate a series of reasons for the illness based on the breast complex, one of these being a specific form of oral revenge: Via unconscious identification with the pre-oedipal, denying mother, the drunkard fills her with poison, an interpretation partly in accord with statements of English colleagues. In other respects, also, my patient showed an abundance of parasitic-revengeful tendencies. He lived on his wife's money. Sexually, he was completely uninterested in her; in other situations, too, genital sexuality seemed to play a subordinate role. Only occasionally

(27) See Bergler and Eidelberg, "The Breast Complex in the Male," *l. c.*

(28) The case is described in my paper, "The Psychological Interrelation between Alcoholism and Genital Sexuality," *J. Crim. Psychopath.*, 1942, Vol. 1.

did he treat himself, *using his wife's money*, to the "luxury" of hunting up a prostitute, with whom he would get drunk and have intercourse. The decisive factor in his case was not sex, however, but revenge on his mother (wife); he used her money for the prostitute and the alcohol. The idea that alcohol enhances sex is erroneous; what it really effects is the revival of oral aggression as a defence against which genitality is used, to save the individual from oral murderous phantasies on the one hand and self-destructive masochism on the other.

The patient's choice of police officers in particular as the object of his aggression when drunk represented only in the superficial layer an oedipal conflict; in the deeper layer it was a defence against his real problem—desire to attack the woman (mother) and also satisfied his masochism—it was the shortest way to jail.

Case 6. A woman patient of 30 repeatedly, without any justification, accused men of rape, and three times went to the police over such "incidents."⁽²⁹⁾ The last of these occasions could be observed in the first weeks of her treatment. She had a room to rent, and a young Rumanian student came to look at it. He immediately started to make love to her. At first she denied to me, but later admitted, that she was perhaps "a little coquettish" toward him. Knowing the patient, who entered analysis because of nymphomania and frigidity, one could assume that she tried to seduce the man, not he to seduce her. She warned him off, saying that she expected her son home from school at any moment (a true statement, by the way), so the young man promised to return the next day at 1 p. m. At first she intended to be away from home when he came, but changed her mind, and when he came, struggled hard with him but finally submitted to intercourse. Then she immediately went to the police and denounced him. She was asked if she realized the consequences for the man. "Yes," was her reply, "I know all about that." Something in her behavior must have made the official suspicious. He began to ask her about the details and inquired whether she was not afraid of pregnancy as a result of the rape. "No," answered the woman, "he used a rubber, as I requested." Homeric laughter was the effect. A rape in which the man had the possibility to use a rubber, especially at the woman's request, could not be considered a rape, since

(29) A part of the case history is given in the monograph by Hitschmann and myself, "Frigidity in Women," *Nerv. and Ment. Dis. Mon. Series*, N. Y., 1936, Ch. III, Part 8 ("Nymphomania"). A continuation of the case is found in my paper, "A Clinical Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Humor," *Psychoan. Rev.*, 1937, Example 1.

it presupposed the woman's consent, was the official's opinion. The whole affair could be settled. The official wanted first to press charges against her for being a prostitute, but could be convinced that he was dealing with a sick person.

What was the reason for the patient's queer behavior? Her nymphomania was, in the superficial layer, a posthumous revenge on the oedipal father, based on the idea, "If you don't want me, I shall take revenge by being a prostitute." In a deeper layer a pre-oedipal hatred of the mother was discernible. This was evident very soon in her fantasies in analysis; for instance, in the patient's pathologic attitude toward sperm. On the one hand, she was offended if the man did not ejaculate vaginally, as she interpreted the ejaculation unconsciously as castration of the man. On the other hand, she had an unconquerable fear of impregnation, and regarded sperm as if it were a sort of concentrated poison. From her transference it became clear that she projected the idea of being deprived and even poisoned by her mother. She expressed, for instance, her idea that the physician wanted to spoil her orgasm and to deprive her of every pleasure, despite the fact that consciously she knew that analysis was attempting to restore her sex life, and especially that it could not deprive her of an orgasm which, being frigid, she did not have. The sperm = poison idea was orally determined (penis=breast; sperm = milk); from the "bad" mother she could expect only spoiled milk.

Her masochistic hatred of her mother was counteracted by an immense feeling of guilt. That feeling of guilt gave her away when she confessed to the police official the man's use of a rubber during the "rape." The same feeling of guilt was responsible for her sense of depression after every promiscuous act. She lived for years the life of a prostitute, despite having an income and throwing away the money men gave her or using it to play "magic gestures," buying toys for children in the street. Her feeling of guilt was visible also in her avoidance of her first name. Asked what it was, she became enraged and swore that nothing on earth could force her to tell it. It happened to be Mary and was a constant reproach to her, a Roman Catholic, because of her promiscuous behavior.

In her life she acted out typically the "mechanism of orality." Her hatred of her mother was so intense, her feeling of being unjustly treated so magnified, that she did not produce any visible feeling of remorse toward her victims; for instance, the unjustly-accused student.

Case 7. In the Psychoanalytic Clinic in Vienna we had, many years ago, the possibility to observe a "mass experiment" on a small scale, supplied, strangely enough, by a regular court.⁽³⁰⁾ There was at that time a judge who harbored the naive idea that psychoanalysis could cure any perversion, even *without* the patient's cooperation. For a time, therefore, he did not sentence perverse exhibitionists who repeatedly offended to the rather long prison term usually imposed. Instead, he passed a suspended sentence and remitted their punishment if they could prove after six months that they were under psychoanalytic treatment. Five cases were sent to the Clinic, where they were to be treated free of charge. Of these five persons, who faced the alternatives of imprisonment or psychoanalysis, one began analysis with one of our colleagues and promptly gave it up a few days after receiving the written confirmation that he had begun treatment. Two others did not appear after the first interview with the head of the Clinic. With the two remaining I spoke once or twice. After being told that they could start treatment, they withdrew with the most threadbare excuses. All four allowed themselves to be imprisoned. How can this grotesque situation be explained? Even fear of the alleged unpleasantness of the treatment cannot be used as the reason for the behavior of these four individuals, since they had no idea of what the treatment consisted. They could not have had any antipathy for the particular physician who would treat them, since each spoke with three physicians on the staff at the Clinic. Nor was there a conspiracy, for there was no proof that they even knew each other. From the discussions I had with two of them, I received the impression that imprisonment from time to time was an inseparable part of their psychic equilibrium. It gave them the opportunity to atone for their inward feeling of guilt. The prison term gave them, so to speak, the ticket permitting their next perverse action. Also striking was the awkwardness of their behavior when they were caught. They actually provoked arrest. One of them, for instance, was threatened by an old woman who saw his exhibitionistic act with a child from the window of a third floor. The man ran away, but returned in a few minutes, his rationalization being that he wanted to see if the old woman was still there. She was exactly where he suspected she would be, but had with her a police officer, who arrested the man.

Not only was imprisonment preferred by these two sick individuals,

(30) Reported in my paper, "Eight Prerequisites for Psychoanalytic Treatment of Homosexuality," *l. c.*

but it had become a part of the routine of their lives. One of them had a small business delivering packages by car; when the occasion arose for a prison term, he told his family that he had to make a business trip into the country. The "business trip" was undertaken in jail. Another worked in his brother-in-law's print shop, and he was able to convince him that he occasionally had to take a trip to the mountains in order to keep fit. In this instance, the vacation was spent in jail. One could not but feel that treatment would obviously have disturbed the vicious circle of unconsciously self-provoked punishment, with the license it gave unconsciously to continue the perversion.

The five cases show why one must have some doubts in respect to a future therapy of criminal actions. Judicial punishment is in some cases not punishment at all but unconscious temporary solution of a guilt-conflict.⁽³¹⁾ The punishment is not dreaded but expected by these sick persons.

Another case of perversion exhibitionism which I treated proved to be orally based.⁽³²⁾ Independently similar findings have been reported by Alexander and Christoffel.

Case 8. A schizoid man of 38, a citizen of a highly puritanic country, entered analysis because of his neurotic attachment to a woman who constantly tortured him with ironic or aggressive reproaches, treating him "like dirt." Unconsciously he liked to be treated that way, consciously he pretended to continue the relationship only because of pity. He convinced himself that the girl would commit suicide should he leave her. When I first saw him, he had stopped sexual relations with her; he acted oral refusal with a pseudo-aggressive facade, pitying himself extensively. He had some knowledge of analysis and could be convinced that his relation with the girl was neurotic. First his deep passivity stemming from the negative oedipus complex was worked through. The result was that within a few months he changed his external behavior, becoming a very aggressive businessman. He claimed to be cured,

(31) Interestingly enough, Freud suspected as long as 30 years ago that some criminal actions were performed because the criminal had an unconscious feeling of guilt stemming from other sources. He spoke of "Verbrecher aus Schuldgefühl." In these cases the feeling of guilt was not the result of the criminal deed but the criminal deed the result of feeling of guilt.

(32) For the complicated interchanges between voyeurism and exhibitionism see my paper, "A Clinical Approach to the Psychoanalysis of Writers," lecture delivered before the N. Y. Psychoan. Soc., Jan., 1942 (to appear in *Psychoan. Rev.*). Further, "A New Approach to the Therapy of Erythrophobia," lecture delivered at the XVth Int. Psychoan. Convention in Paris, Aug., 1938 (to appear in *Psychoan. Quart.*).

but I proposed to analyze his paranoid ideas and his more deeply rooted oral regression. One day the following incident of his previous years was discussed. He had exchanged a few words with a man at the bar of a restaurant. The stranger, in a jovial mood, invited him to his table, where three women were sitting. After some time the man was unexpectedly called away, leaving the patient with the women. Someone suggested another bar, and the patient paid the bill for the dinner of all five. At the next bar he became better acquainted with one of the women, who was a divorcee with a child. She was coquettish, and the patient had the impression that she "wanted" him. He asked her if he could see her the next day. She consented and appeared at the rendezvous on the following day with two other women, whom he had not met before. The patient became suspicious and was of the opinion that she was using him for a "sucker." All four went to an expensive restaurant, and once again the patient, who was a person of some means, paid the bill. He tried afterward to get rid of the other women, without success. Finally he cornered the woman and told her furiously that she had taken advantage of him, that she was a cold woman who had promised to sleep with him without intending to do so. The woman protested that she had promised him nothing. "You did," replied the man angrily, "through your behavior. You are a bad woman only interested in exhibiting your power before your girl friends." His fury mounted, and he presented her with the ultimatum that she either sleep with him or return every cent he had spent on both evenings. At first the woman believed that he was joking, and started to plead with him. "And if I don't do what you want?" she asked. "I shall besiege you and you shall go to bed with me or pay back every cent." The besiegement began that very night. For hours he called her by 'phone, waking both her and her son. The next morning she saw him and pleaded with him once more. "You don't really want me in bed," she objected. "True, after I've slept with you I don't want to see you again. This will be your punishment." Finally in her despair the obviously neurotic woman returned all of his expenses.

The patient did not understand that his behavior at that time was criminal. "Serves that whore right!" was his only reaction. Asked whether he was aware that his behavior could bring him to jail should the woman press charges, he replied that it was necessary to take chances in life. "Don't you see that she took me for a sucker?" "That was undeniable," I replied, "but if you allow yourself to be pushed into that position, you must pay for such a misinterpretation on the part of your

partner." "You're wrong there; one has to take revenge" was his stubborn answer. And in that viewpoint he persisted, even later calling his action only a proof to himself that he was "not weak" and had acted boldly. It was also interesting that his fury toward the woman was still present, despite the fact that the incident took place many years before analysis.

The next girl whom he found was, as he proudly announced, a "baby." The baby turned out to be a calculating elderly woman who wanted to marry him because of his money and her neurosis.

In his case it was characteristic, as in the cases described previously, that no feeling of guilt with regard to the criminal action was visible on the surface. The sense of being unjustly treated seemingly consumed every feeling of guilt, and, as far as such feeling was present, it was projected upon the expectation of punishment.

Case 9. A man of 21 entered analysis because of potency disturbance. He reported that his potency had been normal until he had had a "strange experience" with a girl whom he had met in an amusement park in the capital of his country. That experience took place two years before he entered treatment, and was as follows: He tried to persuade the girl, a chambermaid, to have intercourse with him on the evening they met. She refused, and he forced her to masturbate him in some dark street corner, threatening to choke her to death if she refused. The girl was really frightened, and after a few minutes ran away. He caught her and started to strangle her. The girl freed herself and began to scream. A policeman arrested both. The man pretended that she had attacked him, trying to rob him; the girl told the true story with some exaggerations. The whole affair looked unfavorable for the young man, and only the girl's police record saved him. It seemed that a few weeks earlier she had been accused of stealing a ring from her employer but had been freed on lack of definite proof of her guilt. The man was of a higher social circle, well-dressed, and amiable in his manner; his family lawyer was able to convince the officials that such a well-bred person was incapable of committing a crime. No charges were pressed, and the girl was sent back to her own community.

After that incident the boy's family sent him abroad to continue his studies. He decided to use this time for analysis.

Since that incident with the girl he had become impotent and in the end avoided women. Every time he approached one sexually he failed, thinking of the scene in which he had really wanted to strangle the girl. He crystallized in his mind even the fear that he could kill a

girl in intercourse. In analysis he pretended at first that the story he had told the police was true. He broke down the moment he understood that his lies would not solve his problem in analysis. He did not produce any conscious feeling of guilt for having harmed the girl. He hated her consciously and always referred to her as "that tart."

His family situation was the following: He hated his mother for being "cold and unmotherly." After his disappointment in her, he shifted his libidinous wishes toward his father, and developed a strong negative-oedipus attachment (feminine identification). His feeling of being unjustly treated was very predominant throughout his childhood. He remembered a journey of his parents to Paris and his feeling of being abandoned and lonely. In the period of maturation he had the feeling that all women were denying and refusing. He regarded them with hatred. His attempts at genital sexuality failed at first. Later he found a girl who allowed intercourse, but was made to feel humiliated by a contemptuous remark of the girl, who said, "Deeper, stupid boy," when he looked for the vagina somewhere near the navel. Another girl told him that his manner of persuading her to have intercourse was enough to defeat his purpose, that instead of being tender, he was "complaining and demanding." In his other activities he showed the typical "mechanism of orality." He was a collector of self-provoked injustices, not satisfied until he had his daily dosage of that psychic poison. Then came the "strange experience." It was amazing to what a degree that man was convinced that he was 100% justified in his actions toward her. "She was a bad, aggressive girl, and that I hate most in women." His behavior upon being arrested seemed perfectly correct to him. "She was stupid to yell." When I asked him if he believed he would have strangled her, he answered in the affirmative. "I was so furious that I would have killed her, and it would have served her right."

It was clear that he saw in the girl he attacked the embodiment of all of the motherly injustice done to him. He dwelt upon the different methods with which he had tried to attract his mother's attention as a child. "She was cold—cold—cold!" he cried with furious hatred. "And I was so helpless—nothing could move her."

Why he wanted to strangle the girl, using that method, remained unclarified for a long time. In some of his repetitive dreams this situation would often occur: An enormous ball (sometimes a stone) would be pressed into his mouth. He would be suspended in mid-air, face downward, his feet bound together on the ceiling, like a reversed fixture. These dreams could not be interpreted, as no associations were

given. Having met similar dreams before, I suspected orality as the basis, but did not mention this to the patient. However, one day he mentioned an incident which seemed to bear out the accuracy of this suspicion. He had entered by chance the room in which his landlady's daughter was nursing her baby; he retired immediately with apologies and thought, "It looks as if she would choke the baby with her enormous breast." One could only guess that for some infants the discrepancy in size between their mouth and the mother's breast could cause such a misconstruction of the harmless act of suckling. A good example of the child's ability to change its mother's gesture of benevolence and kindness into one of malice! It is possible that the choking of the girl was an active repetition of this passive experience.

The patient's symptom changed quickly; his erective potency was established. He did not ejaculate, however, having for some time a "psychogenic oral aspermia,"⁽³³⁾ which was his way of denying. Eventually he was cured of this, too. Characterologically, however, he was difficult to attack, since he lacked insight of his situation. His hatred of his mother subsided; he became more friendly in his outlook toward life; but he was by no means a benevolent person. His feeling of guilt toward the girl he had damaged never came to the fore. Simply to appease me, he inquired about her and learned that she had died of tuberculosis. He "closed that chapter" without visible feeling of guilt, which was seemingly completely appeased by his feeling of being unjustly treated in life and by the expectation of punishment.

IV. *A glance at the shape of things to come in criminology.*

We have so far not the slightest inkling as to whether or not criminals are therapeutically accessible. Despite a few optimistic expressions of hope on the part of scientific authors, I personally have my doubts as to the possibility of changing them. These doubts are based on the difficulty of changing even those neurotic patients who have a great amount of self-damaging tendencies, and the most neurotic individual uses a different, *less* self-damaging technique than the criminal. The amount of psychic masochism in criminals makes one suspicious of their curability. On the other hand, we are still not even at the beginning of clinical-criminal investigations. *At the moment clinical knowledge is the thing we lack.* Every prognosis about the future therapy of crim-

(33) For details of that strange symptom, see my paper, "Further Observations on the Clinical Picture of Psychogenic Oral Aspermia," *Int. J. Psychoan.*, London, 1937.

inals is simply guesswork. The therapeutic solution will perhaps be child-analysis; early treatment of "difficult" children will prevent more criminal actions.

One fact is clear: No punishment prevents crime. Responsible for that fact is the unconscious calculation on punishment in the criminal's deed. It is an integral part of the crime. The dread of punishment can therefore not prevent crime. Paradoxically, to quote an ironically-inclined patient of mine, a criminal lawyer, dread of punishment is more necessary for non-criminals than for criminals. The non-criminal needs unconscious recompense for being a life-long good boy. Therefore public opinion asks for severe punishment of criminals. The majority of habitual criminals is unchangeable.⁽³⁴⁾ This is only a reminder to be less optimistic about the penal results—especially in the case of second and third offenders—and to have less illusions about persons having "learned their lesson." People in general and criminals in particular don't learn so easily.

Every society must protect itself against individuals who do not accept the rule of the community. Criminal deeds are outside of the social game; they represent specific solutions of a specific inner conflict, and endanger the community as a whole. The habitual criminal himself has nothing to hope for from the solution of the enigma of crime. He will very likely be treated *morally* differently; he will be acknowledged to be a sick person. *De facto* he will pay for the omission of the moral odium with disadvantages, for instance, lifelong detention. The moment the illusion of betterment and rehabilitation of habitual criminals through punishment is abandoned because it does not work, society will regretfully impose lifelong detention on the habitual criminal, not because he is "bad" but because he is a danger to the community.

The problem of "betterment" of criminals is in general approached either from the practical or the humanitarian angle. What is going on theoretically is still terra incognita. The fact that "habitual criminals" ("criminel d'habitude," "Gewohnheitsverbrecher") are not changeable is sometimes acknowledged. What happens, however, in the mind of first offenders, who seemingly change after a prison term, and those who

(34) An interesting deduction of that trend of thought in its most pessimistic consequences is found in R. Heindl's "Der Berufsverbrecher" Pan Verlag, 1926. That book gives also insight into the negative results of the French colonial penal system. Interestingly enough, the majority of authors distinguish only between two groups of criminals—"habitual" and "occasional" ones, for instance, Valentini, Starke, Medem, Bennecke, Aschroth, Krohne, Prins, Duane, Kivrin, Holtzendorff, Liszt.

are helped and restored by the parole system? Since we know so little about the inner working of the criminal's psyche, that question is for the time being unanswerable. It is possible that the childish part of the personality, confronted with the reality of prison, exhausts its feeling of guilt in the actual punishment. That theory would agree with Schilder and Keiser's previously-discussed assumption that the criminal wants punishment, "but not too much." On the other hand, these first and single-time offenders are perhaps criminal "borderline cases" from the beginning. In contrast to these cases is the legion of others—undoubtedly the majority—who, despite punishment, continue their criminal careers.

The future generations of criminologists will learn more and more about the psychology of criminality. One can guess, however, even today that crime is not an atavism of jungle aggression but a maladjusted unconscious defence mechanism. Scientific progress in criminology is possible only if the theoretical issues are clarified on the basis of clinical experience, and the confusion between the two indispensable factors of every criminal action—the variable contents of a single crime characteristic of that crime alone and the constant, specific and pathognomic factor explaining the motor act—is cleared away. It is perhaps too much to hope that this clarification will take place in the near future. Every confusion, not excluding the scientific one, has a self-perpetuating and self-propelling life of its own.

251 Central Park West,
New York City.

FRAGMENT OF AN ANALYSIS OF A PROSTITUTE

FRITZ WENGRAF, M. D.

New York, N. Y.

Female prostitutes, women who offer themselves indiscriminately to sexual intercourse for hire, rarely seek psychotherapeutic treatment. Their contact with the psychiatrist is casual, the meetings taking place either in police stations, jails or insane asylums, under conditions thoroughly unfavorable for the psychic treatment or even investigation. There is general belief that the psychiatrist desiring to obtain data on the psychology of harlots, can relinquish the difficult work with these women, because he is able to get enough information from neurotics whose behavior or conduct of life is similarly constructed. In doing so, however, the psychiatrist may be inclined to underestimate the discrimination by which society segregates itself from the underworld, and the grave burden of disdain which complicates the life of a prostitute.

The following report dealing with the case of a prostitute is presented because of several remarkable features. First: the prostitute in question was able to quit her profession; second: her life after that was almost normally conducted; third: she was aware of the possibility of a relapse into her "vice" and defended herself cleverly and successfully. Finally, it offers hints as to the underlying mechanism of her downfall and—at the same time—it shows how an unusual series of happenings ultimately pulled the patient back into a life that was socially acceptable.

A woman, thirty-two years of age, a lawyer's secretary, complained that while typing legal papers, especially those of great importance, she frequently typed, without noticing it, two lines on the same space, rendering her work useless and complicating the office routine. Her employer who on several previous occasions had noticed her absent-mindedness, suggested that she consult a psychiatrist.

At the first interview she gave her history fragmentarily and only after overcoming strong resistance. She was the daughter of a noted

judge who, as a descendant of an old and famous family of state officials, was the bearer of a highly esteemed name. Her mother, who came from a rich middle-class family, had spent, after her three children were born, most of her time abroad. She despised her husband because he was unable to support the family without making use of the interest of her dowery. The patient suspected her mother of enjoying the company of people humbler than the family to which she belonged, and for this reason had always been hostile towards her. The girl was very carefully supervised and educated, but at the age of fourteen she was seduced by her riding instructor, a retired cavalry officer of high peerage. After this experience she openly manifested her aggressiveness, first against her mother and later against her father. She began to agree with her mother's opinion that men are beasts bent on carnal enjoyment. At the same time she started having indiscriminate sexual relations with men. Hoping to correct her, her parents sent her to a girls' institution, but there she "corrupted the morals" of her companions by frankly talking about her sexual experiences. The institution's authorities returned her to her parents, but she left home because her parents objected to her conduct with men.

After various adventures she was hired by a tavern to entice men to drink and to gratify their sexual desires. She boasted that she was allowed to choose her customers and was not, like the other girls, at the call of "just everybody." She pretended to enjoy this life until one day a man appeared who was to exert fateful influence on the course of her life.

The man, the son of wealthy peasants, had left home to be free from restraint by his family. The capital, he thought, was paradise. Life was a series of revels, with wine, women and song ever present. A handsome and clever man could easily make his fortune. Women were easy to captivate. To a crafty boy there was nothing but success. When he met the tavern girl, however, thoughts of wealthy women left him.

The patient's description of the first encounter with this man was certainly borrowed from a cheap love-story. Both were magically attracted to each other and fell in love with each other. The girl left her job after some argument with her employer and took an apartment where she lived with her new lover. For an indeterminate time they enjoyed fullest harmony.

But one day she heard from her lover the terrible news that at the prompting of his parents he was to go home. He had to manage the

family's large farm because his father was invalidated by an accident. This also meant that the young fellow would have to marry a neighboring farmer's daughter. The powerful call of his social position overcame his youthful romantic desires. He decided to go home. The girl he was leaving in the city instinctively felt the strong forces that tied him to his home environment; she regarded the promise he had hurriedly given to her, that he would marry her some day, as a convenient lie.

Nevertheless, for a short time she was able to deceive herself by assuming that she, the "high-class girl from the metropolis," would of course be the one the young farmer would eventually wed. This forced hope faded as his letters arrived more and more irregularly, and their contents became increasingly formal and impersonal. Finally he could no longer conceal from her his approaching marriage to a rich and beautiful peasant girl.

This development aroused a state of anxiety in the patient. She rediscovered in herself the same tension which had profoundly affected her life in the past; it was the same energy that had melted away her resistance towards the riding instructor; the same feeling that had driven her from one man into the arms of the next one. The moment she gave up her claim to her lover, she experienced the old desire to become promiscuous.

In this state of irritation she asked the farmer for a last rendezvous. She procured a revolver and took the train. At the station near his farm he met her. They walked through a birch wood. The revolver was in her handbag. She talked about her love for him and how it had changed her life for the better. Excited by her words and the remembrances of their past pleasures together, he took her in his arms. She felt the desire to give in, but at this moment she realized her misery, drew the revolver, and pulled the trigger twice. She saw him die almost instantly. She then directed the weapon against her own heart, and after having shot herself fell badly wounded and unconscious to the ground.

Days later she awakened in a hospital. After several operations her health was restored, and she was detained for trial. The proceedings were another dramatic highlight of her life. For a few days she was the center of public attention. When she was conducted to the court-room she had to traverse several blocks, and the sidewalks were crowded with cheering girls, quite a number of whom had allegedly been seduced and deceived by the same man. To these women the patient appeared to be a heroine, an avenger of betrayed womanhood. The patient was finally acquitted.

The trial was widely publicized by the tabloid press. Later, at her psychiatric interviews, the patient proudly displayed the newspaper clippings dealing with her case. She also showed many letters of marriage proposals which she had received from men who followed the trial. She insisted that the doctor read each letter word by word, as well as the detailed newspaper accounts. She behaved like an actress who had been forced to give up her career and now took pleasure in showing off her scrapbook with its numerous reminders of successful days. (Incidentally, in one of the numerous letters she received I recognized the handwriting of a former patient, a masochist, who had visited my office a few times and had told me that he wrote letters of proposal to murderers.)

At the time the girl came for treatment she was devoting her after-office hours to dog-breeding. She was so capable in this pursuit that the police department purchased her dogs when they became about six months of age and used them for police duty.

After the acquittal she avoided intimate relationships with men because she had the obsessional fear that she would have to kill the men with whom she might have a romance. Her interest in sex petered out. She lived a conservative and respectable life. The lawyer who had successfully defended her at the trial, later hired her as his secretary.

The patient's father died while she was in prison. She had not seen him since she left home, and he had never communicated with her when she was awaiting her trial. She was disturbed by the thought that grief over her action and the disgrace she brought to her family had caused her father's death.

* * *

It is generally assumed that schizophrenic trends are the decisive factor in the psychological motivations of the life of prostitutes. In this special case they could not be detected. This girl sought treatment only for an apparently neurotic symptom, compulsory in character, of being unable to space her typewriter properly. She had an outspoken resistance to discussing anything which she did not think was directly connected with her troublesome symptom. And when after a number of sessions she was able to type efficiently, she stopped treatment. The physician therefore did not have the opportunity to gain deeper insight into many details of the psychodynamics of her case.

The basic factor in her psychology was her father fixation and her hatred toward her mother. In analysis it became clear that her first lover, the cavalry officer, was a father image, and as is well known, it is the girl with a strong father fixation that most frequently becomes a nymphomaniac or a prostitute.

In the short time she was under treatment it was impossible to analyze her exhibitionism to its full extent and to connect it with its psychological roots. The immense amount of publicity given to her during the trial has satisfied a good deal of this exhibitionism; and even later she was able to reproduce its gratification by flaunting some of the newspaper clippings referring to the trial.

Strong latent homosexuality is a common feature in prostitutes; it also played—as the analysis showed—an important part in this case. The patient was proud to have had a prolonged and ardent affair with the man she killed, for he was a well known Don Juan and she had always thought that she had completely replaced his other girls in his affection. This behavior pattern betrayed her latent homosexual tendencies.

The latter expressed itself in the following way:

(a) Hatred toward men. The patient unconsciously disdained her customers. She was aware of her habitués' neuroses which prevented them from approaching normal women, or from finding full gratification with their legitimate partners.

(b) Psychosexual infantilism. It goes without saying that in her life as a prostitute she found one of the many realizations of infantile sexuality. In this respect her life balanced her neurotic tendencies relatively well and offered her the strength to withstand the many hardships and calamities of her profession. Because she never experienced sexual gratification, she was able to decrease the feeling of guilt connected with her mode of living. The symbolism of money (as a substitute for love) fitted well into her infantile pattern.

With the foregoing in mind, we can readily understand why the entrance of the farmer into the patient's life became so fateful to her. He was not only the "strong man" who was able to ignite her dormant feelings. His importance for her lay in the fact that he also fit into her infantile bisexual pattern. Messalina met Don Juan! The woman who unconsciously hated men and loved women, was challenged by a man who was just as promiscuous as she was, who was loaded with the

"scent" of numerous women. The result of this match as an unusual form of love, a state of trance, that extinguished the past as well as all her thoughts of the future.

Despite the strong competition with other women, the patient indulged in the firm belief that she represented the fulfillment of her lover's deepest cravings and was in a state of mind which made all her infantile narcissistic wishes appear to come true.

Thus a relative emotional equilibrium was established. The man's betrayal disturbed this psychic equilibrium. His conduct brought about a severe narcissistic injury. Pent-up emotions became suddenly liberated and came to an explosion. The boy, whom she loved as her Savior and Redeemer, became once more a representative of the whole male sex. He became a target of violent hatred, which at length was discharged in the act of murder.

This psychological factor was so incongruous with the general conception of crime that it baffled the jury. It was for this reason that the patient was finally acquitted. She herself considered the killing of her lover as a plain act of revenge.

The discharge through homicide of the accumulated hatred (which, as stated before, had an infantile and present-day component) restored her depleted narcissism. Her ego was again inflated by the sensational trial, and once more a relative emotional equilibrium was established.

Her homosexual component was well sublimated in her dog-breeding activities. When Balzac thought that a female prostitute usually ends as a brothel-matron, we can draw some parallels in regard to our case.

Analysis proved that to our patient the typewriter spacer had a symbolic meaning and was used as a tool for expressing one of her specific day-dreams. Her symptom represented her unconscious desire to re-live in her day-dream the dramatic experience of her past with the purpose of alleviating an intolerable feeling of guilt. In moving the spacer on the same line she was not only reproducing symbolically the sad experience, viz. the last meeting with her lover, but she was also giving the tragic event a happier ending: by not pulling the spacer she was refraining, as it were, from pulling the trigger.

This interpretation which was fully accepted by the patient was followed by a discussion as to whether she took her acquittal for grant-

ed. Compulsory symptoms are known to revolve around an unconscious feeling of guilt, the latter being concerned with the death of a close relative. In our case the death—of her father—was brought about by the patient's actions. The compulsory symptom proved to have a structure similar to that of a trial, the psychic instances alternately playing the roles of the prosecutor, the defender and the judge. The patient was exposed to occasional relapses into a conscious feeling of guilt. From time to time she felt that her lawyer might have distorted some facts in order to obtain the acquittal. On other occasions she was disturbed by the thought that the prosecutor might intend to prepare a new trial, and that eventually she would be declared guilty. By breeding dogs for the police she unconsciously hoped to "bribe" the authorities, and thus forestall a possible second trial.

It is interesting to note that the symptom that brought the patient to the doctor was apparently of little importance to her, and that she had to be coaxed by her employer to seek medical help. As stated before, a part of her recovery was due to her spontaneous endopsychic adjustment. It was possible for her to break away completely from prostitution, to settle down as an office worker, and to turn her attention during her spare time to the constructive task of breeding dogs.

It is commonly believed that sometimes a morally respectable individual is driven into an anti-social way of life by personal cataclysms; in the case of our patient the reverse appears to have occurred: catastrophic events hastened recovery and social adjustment.

1192 Park Ave.,
New York City.



RASKOLNIKOV

The Study of a Criminal

I. ATKIN, M.D., D.P.M.

London, England

It has turned out that man, no matter what crotchety ideas he may fabricate in regard to himself, still remains a social unit . . . *Gorky*.

Introductory Note

Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* could furnish sufficient stimulating ideas for a treatise on criminology, but nobody seems to have taken advantage of this hitherto. As a rule, the character of Raskolnikov is discussed as if he were an isolated phenomenon, and recondite conclusions of doubtful value are attained as a consequence. His great inner drama has been dissected often enough, but it can only have significance for us as an expression of the still greater drama—his microcosm to be thoroughly understood must be seen through the macrocosm around him, of which he was a unit. In this essay I approach the hero as a living being who is at odds with his environment. The latter is described for us in great detail; and we can make ourselves familiar with the cultural pattern which enveloped him, for the novel was published in 1866, and it contains a reference to the so-called emancipation of the serfs (1861), so that we are dealing with the early sixties of Alexander II's reign. The influence of the immediate environment and of the social tradition of this period on Raskolnikov is given its full value in the following analysis:

The author does not claim to unravel the whole of Raskolnikov's complex mind, which is indeed an impossible task, but he is convinced that the sociological approach is more valuable than the purely individual for one reason at least, a very practical one. It may become established that certain physical (e. g. endocrinological) defects predispose to crime, but the elimination of these through eugenic selection must be placed in the remote future. On the other hand, the social determinants of crime could be attacked with success in the immediate present. In these days of the mighty struggle between the worlds of

democracy and fascism it is appropriate to note that criminologists in democratic countries strongly favour the sociological interpretation of crime, whereas in fascist states there is a reversion to hereditarian theories.

I

A Social Crime

However, crime is so closely bound to the structure of society that we do not have the right to look at the criminal apart from society; and the question has at last to be raised not only how one should cure the criminal, but also how one should cure society. *P. Schilder.*

In the usual descriptions of Dostoevsky's characters, Raskolnikov is approached as if he were completely detached from his social tradition, and some critics even aver that environment plays no part in any of these creations. We are presented with an analysis as if Raskolnikov were an "absolute or abstract man who lies far beyond the planes of civilization." (Zweig). Such a running away from the social facts of life gives great scope for all sorts of speculative theories (often including some Absolute Truth on the way), but teaches us nothing of value concerning man, for there is no such phenomenon as a completely isolated human being—he would not be human then. The essential tragedy of Raskolnikov is that he is only too severely penetrated and rent by the contradictory forces of civilization—if such a term can be applied to the social organization of Tsarist Russia in the 1860's. One can figment any type of abstract man, saint or devil, but the only man that exists in reality is the concrete man, a product of innate biological forces and the moulding influences of environment and culture. Dostoevsky, a great realist, could not possibly have committed the error of introducing incompatibilities between personality and environment, and, as it happens, in *Crime and Punishment* the author lays great stress on environmental details, both in his descriptive passages, and also in the conversations between the different characters. Dostoevsky's style does not belong to the school of vulgar realism which delights to describe in photographic detail irrelevant situations that can have no psychological significance. If he stresses such details in *Crime and Punishment*, it is because he wishes us to pay attention to their effectual power in determining the hero's behaviour. Had Raskolnikov not been a ragged, starving ex-student whose sister was about to prostitute herself for his benefit, no murder

would have been committed, and his youthful ambitions would have taken a different course altogether.

Such a clear illustration is given early in the novel of the power of social pressure in determining a particular form of behaviour, that it is worth quoting in full. Marmeladov describes how his daughter Sonia becomes a prostitute as follows: "Do you suppose that a respectable poor girl can earn much by honest work? Not fifteen farthings a day can she earn, if she is respectable and has no special talent and that without putting her work down for an instant! And what's more, Ivan Ivanitch Klopstock, the civil counsellor—have you heard of him?—has not to this day paid her for the half-dozen linen shirts she made him and drove her roughly away, stamping and reviling her, on the pretext that the shirt collars were not made like the pattern and were put in askew. And there are the little ones hungry . . . And Katerina Ivanovna walking up and down and wringing her hands, her cheeks flushed red, as they always are in that disease: 'Here you live with us,' says she, 'you eat and drink and are kept warm and you do nothing to help.' And much she gets to eat and drink when there is not a crust for the little ones for three days! I was lying at the time . . . well, what of it! I was lying drunk and I heard my Sonia speaking (she is a gentle creature with a soft little voice . . . fair hair and such a pale, thin little face). She said: 'Katerina Ivanovna, am I really to do a thing like that?' And Darya Frantsova, a woman of evil character and very well known to the police, had two or three times tried to get at her through the landlady. 'And why not?' said Katerina Ivanovna with a jeer, 'you are something mighty precious to be so careful of!' But don't blame her, don't blame her, honoured sir, don't blame her! She was not herself when she spoke, but driven to distraction by her illness and the crying of the hungry children; and it was said more to wound her than anything else . . . For that's Katerina Ivanovna's character, and when children cry, even from hunger, she falls to beating them at once. At six o'clock I saw Sonia get up, put on her kerchief and her cape, and go out of the room, and about nine o'clock she came back. She walked straight up to Katerina Ivanovna and she laid thirty roubles on the tables before her in silence. She did not utter a word, she did not even look at her, she simply picked up our big green *drap de dames* shawl (we have a shawl, made of *drap de dames*), put it over her head and face and lay down on the bed with her face to the wall; only her little shoulders and her body kept shuddering⁽¹⁾ . . ."

(1) Quotations are from Constance Garnett's translation of the novel.

It may be argued that Sonia had other forms of reaction available (she might, for example, have committed suicide), but it will not be denied that if she had not been surrounded by a consumptive step-mother, a drunken father and three starving children (rendered possible in a particular form of society), she would not have sold herself to the first man in a neighboring pot-house for thirty roubles.

Apart from such effectual forces in the immediate environment, we must also bear in mind the wider social influences working through education, tradition and current ideologies.

Neglect of the careful consideration of cultural tradition as a powerful force in determining human behaviour, has led to varying hypothetical assessments of the "abstract man." Let us take two examples of such resulting and contradictory evaluations of "human nature." Freud writes of primitive man: "He was, in truth, a very violent being, more cruel and more malign than other animals. He liked to kill and killed as a matter of course." On the other hand, Elliot Smith informs us that, "originally primitive men were decent, generous and peaceful." Apparently these authorities have considered man in different settings, not making due allowance for the influences of different cultural patterns. Elliot Smith was thinking of the Food Gatherers, who had no social classes; Freud had in mind the societies forced into organized war by ineluctable economic forces in 1914, and also, no doubt, his hypothetical "primal horde." In this connection, Ruth Benedict's anthropological observations are very opposite. She has demonstrated the extra-ordinary dependence of the temperament, manner and behaviour of primitive races on the particular cultural traditions. Thus, among the Zuni, suicide is unknown, and they think "it is very strange the things that white people do." The fact that our present form of social organization often favours such form of behavior need not therefore force us to postulate a "death instinct." Again, the traditional ideal of the Dobu is a thoroughly treacherous mode of behaviour—he who cheats and thieves most successfully is most respected—but we must not therefore jump to the conclusion that treachery is "natural" to man. Another good example, showing how the emotional attitude of the individual varies with the type of social tradition, may be quoted from Kropotkin: "In the course of my conversations with the 'savages' during my travels in Siberia and Manchuria, it used to be very difficult for me to explain how it was that in our Christian societies people frequently die from hunger, while side by side with them other people are living in affluence. To a Tungus,

an Aleut, and to many others, such a situation is utterly incomprehensible; they are heathen, but they are men of a tribal mode of life."

The commonly accepted notion of man's nature is shot through and through with the prevailing political and economical ideologies, which are unconsciously imbibed in the "psychologies" that are taught. Thus, if religious institutions play an important part in society, its professors of psychology will most assuredly discover a religious instinct. If the social organization happens to be built on the profit-making principle, a strongly ineradicable acquisitive instinct is appropriately discovered. The wars that are an inevitable result of competitive imperialisms are excused by the presence of an uncontrollable aggressive instinct. And so forth. Such "instincts" having been deduced from a certain type of social organization, they are then pronounced universally valid, and argument is apt to proceed in a vicious circle: either the existence of the social form is explained on the basis of these instincts, or, to go one better, it is proudly shown how excellently the existing society satisfies all the hypothesized instincts.

The endless debates on human nature are thus seen to be futile, for there are as many varieties as there are types of culture, each producing its specific pattern of behaviour. All that we can state with certitude concerning "original human nature" is that, like the protoplasm from which it has arisen, it is by no means rigid but, on the other hand, very malleable and plastic. (One suspects that an insistence on the "unchanging Adam" is based on a desire, usually unconscious, to maintain the extant social system *in statu quo*). Apart from his total *elan*, each particular individual certainly inherits special potentialities—a musical talent for example—but his general life pattern is dependent on the infinite permutations and combinations of numerous social forces, this contributing to the formation of his unique individuality.

Before the Bolshevik Revolution it was customary to regard Russians as mystics and pessimists; presumably they were so fore-ordained through some curious accident of innate constitution. It is true that waves of pessimism and mysticism swept over Russia after 1848, in the sixties and after the failure of the 1905 Revolution, but it is patent what the social causes were. Today the citizen of the U. S. S. R. has become typically realistic and optimistic—a very sudden mutation in "human nature" one would think—but again the social causes are there to explain the new state of affairs.

Any problem of behaviour we have to deal with is that of man in society, and not of an abstract man as figmented by romanticists (literary or scientific). Every human being is a vortex of social forces, and even his most intimate experiences have their social colouring and significance. Relapse into solitude does not free him from society, since the very language of his thinking is replete with the social influences of the milieu from which he has evolved. Raskolnikov's behaviour cannot be correctly appraised if his environment be left out of account. The killing of another person is a form of behaviour which, under the appropriate circumstances, any human being may exhibit, but the majority of mankind can and have lived without committing a murder, in other words it is not a biological necessity in the same sense as taking nourishment is, and therefore cannot be regarded as an immanent trait of "original human nature."

Nowadays it is hardly necessary to labour too much the statement that no man is doomed at birth to become a criminal. Lombroso's theory that certain persons are predestined from birth to a life of crime was popular when society favoured an authoritarian system, but has been discarded in democratic countries. It has been established that the criminal is neither physically marked off from the rest of the population, nor is he a mental freak in the sense that he lacks some particular faculty of the mind—actually he possesses the same psychotic "mechanisms" that are displayed by the law-abiding individual. A great wit has remarked that when children misbehave, it is the parents who should be whipped. The same argument applies with equal truth to the problem of the criminal. It is becoming recognized that an exaggerated emphasis has been laid on individual responsibility, and that the social responsibility for crime is very great. This of course was not the case in the sixties, and Raskolnikov, lost in the mazes of his chasing thoughts, repeats gloomily that "it was the devil leading me"—an echo of mediaeval theories. Dostoevsky, confronted by the convicts in Siberia, asks: "How much youth is ruthlessly buried in these men, how many great powers have been squandered in vain. Why, these people were exceptional—it may well be the most gifted and the strongest of our whole nation, but mighty powers have been brought to nothing and expended in vain, and that abnormally, illegally and irrevocably. And who is to blame for it? Ay, who is to blame?" The answer is surely plain. Crime is a symptom of social disease, and Tsarist Russia deserved its Raskolnikovs, just as today America deserves its gangsters. A society which fails to control and distribute the material resources of life adequately, which

does not attempt to foster the full development of its individual units, must pay for such neglect by the toleration of widespread suffering, with a substantial criminal bill to pay in addition.

An illustration of the effectual power of the social conditions of the sixties in producing its Raskolnikovs, is the murder of a pawnbroker by a Moscow student under circumstances similar to those depicted in the novel, almost immediately after the latter had appeared. Without denying the recognized influence of suggestion, it is clear that there must be suitable recipients for any particular type of conduct that is suggested. The fact is that there were dozens, nay thousands, of Raskolnikovs who were frustrated by an inadequate social system, who were humiliated by poverty, whose hearts were brimming over with accumulated bitterness. Many other similar murders were perpetrated subsequently, for Raskolnikov's situation was not fantastic, but a real one.

The classification of criminals is admittedly arbitrary and tends to overlapping, but if we adopt that of Havelock Ellis (political, passionate, insane, instinctive,⁽²⁾ occasional and professional), we must place Raskolnikov in the occasional group, of which this author writes: "Occasional crime is one of the commonest forms of crime; it is also that for whose existence and development society is most directly responsible; very often it might equally be called *social crime*.⁽³⁾ Such a crime is not an example of the individual's life habits, and may be exhibited by any member of society should the appropriate cluster of circumstances (different in each case of course) occur during his life. Now that great doubt has been thrown on the existence of the "born criminal," it may be asserted that any one of us might have developed criminality under the influence of an appropriate upbringing and environment, and vice versa, that every criminal could have grown up into a useful citizen if he had escaped deleterious influences. Crime is essentially a problem of social organization, and under a favourable system even the harm of the past can be undone, as shown by the successes at Bolshevo.⁽⁴⁾

(2) The existence of an "instinctive" criminal is highly debatable. As H. J. Muller has pointed out, the power of genetic influences cannot be accurately assessed until a social change wipes out the deleterious environmental influences.

(3) My italics.

(4) Bolshevo is a colony twenty miles from Moscow, inhabited by about two thousand thrice convicted criminals. They live in almost complete freedom, work usefully and are paid regular wages.

We now reach the conclusion that Raskolnikov's behaviour is not an exhibition of man's supposedly unchanging nature or of a "constitutional destiny." His drama is a lesson in sociology, for he appears as the victim of a social system which failed in its primary duty, that of stimulating the development of its individuals and providing for them until they are ready to take their proper place in life.

Some have maintained that Raskolnikov was a distinctly psychopathic personality, but the life of such an individual is essentially barren, devoid of sincere loves and passions aimless in its futile trivialities. Unfortunately the phrase "psychopathic personality" has also been used in such a vague, extended sense as to include any individual who is not of some theoretical cow-like mediocrity, — Raskolnikov would then have to join the company of geniuses and creative artists.

It has even been asserted that he was insane. Beyond the four days' delirium (for which exhaustion and starvation, as well as the agitation of the murder were causal), his behaviour does not suggest any form of insanity with which we are acquainted. He does not exhibit the affective fluctuations of a manic-depressive, the systematized delusions of persecution and grandeur of a paranoiac or the dereism and hallucinations of a schizophrenic. His Napoleonic theory can hardly be described as a delusional system, for he never believes himself to be a Napoleon—it is merely a working hypothesis for him, into which he possesses full insight, as shown by the lucid manner in which he discusses it with Porfiry. The psychoanalytic interpretations of Raskolnikov will not be discussed here. Whatever validity they may have, their value can be only of a relative nature, inasmuch as they are obtained in a purely individualistic manner. But even from the academic point of view it seems quite unwarranted to call Raskolnikov a "paranoiac neurotic," as for example Dr. Laforgue suggests. We must not make a fetish of words, which also have changing social values. What, indeed, is a "neurotic"?

When we consider the usual broad definition of a neurotic—an individual who is unhappy and suffers from maladjustment to his environment—we may justifiably ask one or two pertinent questions about the environment before making a decision. The circumstances of the cultural pattern may be such as to foster a sense of isolation and powerlessness, feelings of insecurity and a hostility between various sections of the population. It would have been abnormal for Raskolnikov to conform happily to his particular environment—one might as well have expected the masses of starving peasants and underpaid town workers to

conform peacefully to the barbarous Tsarist regime. In any case, non-conformity in itself is not pathognomic of a neurosis; it also marks the liberator and reformer, the individual who helps towards the creation of new forms of society with new values. Raskolnikov himself does not omit to consider the case of the neurotic criminal, in whom the motives are a feeling of guilt and a desire for self-punishment. He comes to the conclusion that the difficulty in concealing a crime lies not so much in the material circumstances as in some "disease" of the criminal. However, he decides that in his own case no mistakes will be made because he regards his action as "not a crime." Here his conscious logical reasoning is sound. The murder he commits is not impelled by a desire for punishment and if no sense of guilt develops there is no reason why "accidental clues" should be left behind. So strongly did he persuade himself, on the conscious level, that his action was not criminal, that he leaves no incriminating evidence which could convict him. In dealing with the problem of serious crime, it must be remembered that in over nine-tenths of cases it proves to be of an acquisitive nature, the more spectacular crimes of violence and lust forming only a small minority. It is in the latter that marked mental illness is much more often of important etiology. In Raskolnikov's case, his homicidal violence cannot be dissociated from his pursuit of acquisitive ends, which indeed must be regarded as the primary aim.

The indisputable statement we can make about Raskolnikov is that he was possessed with a tremendous *elan*, so that he becomes a Titan in his suffering as he is in his ambitions. By nature he was too large to accept the misery imposed upon him, and though his rebellion leads him to an unfortunate end, he compels our attention and sympathy throughout. We admire his revolt even if we cannot approve the form it takes. His tragedy moves inevitably, inexorably, in a deterministic manner to an end that we almost foresee. He cannot escape his environment, or the mental conflicts that social forces have implanted in him.

II.

Reaction to Adversity

Why should we not equally enquire into the qualities and situations of things which surround such a character, even till we detect the concentrated embers which first awoke the internal fire that slumbered? *Schiller*

The tendency of many critics to limit themselves to a detached analysis of Raskolnikov's inner conflicts is not so very surprising. It is less

disturbing to their peace of mind when the problem of the crime is transferred from the filthy slums and poverty which their society tolerates, to an intricate discussion of an allegedly "neurotic" individual. It will therefore not be redundant to make good this usual omission, and include in what follows some account of the material difficulties against which our hero had to contend.

Raskolnikov's immediate environment was a working class district in the centre of St. Petersburg, which exhibited all the evils that we associate with the very worst of slums. In the narrow alleys and dirty stinking courtyards one jostled against ragpickers, costermongers, quarrelling beggars, pedlars, drunken patrons of the numerous filthy taverns, and prostitutes from the surrounding brothels (officially permitted by the Tsarist Government). In the summer heat the dusty town air, the stench from the cheap shops, cafes and pot-houses, could become intolerable. At night one's sleep was disturbed by the shrill cries and oaths of drunkards as they were thrown out of the taverns.

Our hero lived in a five-storied house which was divided, as so many others, into numerous tiny tenements, each landlady trying to make as much as she could out of her poverty-stricken lodgers. The rooms often communicated, so that there was but little privacy, and a quarrel between husband and wife or between a lodger and the landlady soon brought curious faces peeping in at the door. Everything was in a state of extreme dirt and disorder. The atmosphere was thick with smoke and stifling, and the shouting and oaths of the occupants, the cries of hungry, half-naked children, united to make a din that rendered concentrated study an almost superhuman task.

Raskolnikov's own miserable garret, at the very top of the building, was more like a cupboard than a room. Dostoevsky insists frequently on the smallness and wretchedness of this room, as indeed he does on every aspect of the hero's poverty-stricken condition. This den is referred to as a "wretched lodging . . . like a tomb," "that hole . . . that awful little cupboard." No wonder that Raskolnikov feels stifled, caged in, and comes to hate it thoroughly.

Poverty comes easier to those who are brought up in it from birth, but three years of increasing deprivation tell on the proud, refined Raskolnikov, filled as he is with youthful ambitions which were seeking some outlet in the social world. Convicts after continued confinement in prison are known to break out into excitable states of an almost maniacal character as a result of the forced damming up of the energies that

have no opportunity of expressing themselves. Raskolnikov is in a like position—his family circumstances, his tiny garret, his poverty, cast a stranglehold on him. He is compelled to leave the University where he was a law student, he has to borrow money from his mother and sister, he is driven finally to pawn small private articles—and still remains hopelessly in debt. When we are introduced to him, he has already been reduced to the lowest level of poverty. How galling for this talented youth to be forced to accept gifts from his sweated relatives, for he knew that his mother was blinding her eyes embroidering for a miserable return, that his sister, earning a pittance as a governess, was being insulted by the depraved landowner Svidrigailov. Clad in rags, so that he was often mistaken for a professional beggar in the streets, pent up with accumulated bitterness and humiliations, the final thunderclap comes—he learns that his sister Dounia is about to sell herself to the rich-Luzhin, almost double her age, in order to escape the morass of poverty, and especially for his benefit. His decision is made, an idea that occurred to him a month previously is reinforced, and then, as circumstances play into his hands, action moves rapidly. He had been tortured and humiliated by society, driven into a cage like a rat to starve to death, that he turns on the nearest symbol of his exploiters—he murders Alyona Ivanovna, the usurous moneylender, who had spat on him and fleeced him.

All this sounds logical enough as the desperate action of a powerful individual whose talents and ambitions cannot discover an outlet, who is at bay against impossible odds. But to obtain a more complete picture, we must also consider the development of conative trends in the individual psyche, for every human reaction may be regarded as a resultant of external pressures and inner drives. These two groups of forces are always intimately blended, and Dostoevsky demonstrates this throughout the book, either in the presentation of appropriate situations or when making the various characters speak for themselves. Raskolnikov's Napoleonic theory which had been incubating in his mind for six months, and the idea of the murder dreamt of for one month, suddenly became realities when he receives the news so repulsive to him, that his sister is about to sell her body for his benefit. ("... yesterday even, the thought was a mere dream: but now ..."). Just when he thinks that he has after all freed himself of the planned murder, he overhears that the pawnbroker will be alone next day at seven in the evening, and this appears too unique an opportunity to be missed. When he is confessing to Sonia, he exhibits an uncertainty of the forces that drove

him to the murder: first he suggests "to plunder" then that "he wanted to become a Napoleon;" that he could not bear to see the poverty of his mother and the humiliations of his sister, so that he "resolved to gain possession of the old woman's money;" that he "only wanted to have the daring;" that "it was not so much the money I wanted, but something else;" to discover whether "I can step over barriers or not" — in such subtle manner does Dostoevsky balance the relative powers of inner impulses and environmental pressure, without however giving his own opinion as to which should be regarded the more influential. The problem cannot, indeed, be solved with any exactitude, for it is impossible to equate on the same scale psycho-physical and environmental forces. Fortunately this question is of no very great importance if we are studying Raskolnikov's behaviour from the sociological point of view. The main patterns of his thought and behaviour will be found in the last analysis to draw from the current traditions and culture, and thus become part of a problem of social disease in the same way that his immediate environment is.

Before tracing the manner in which his striving seized on the Napoleonic theory, it will be convenient first to deal with the powerful obstacle he had to fight in himself—his conscience.

III.

Conscience

Then fly: what! from myself? . . .
 My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
 And every tongue brings in a several tale,
 And every tale condemns me for a villain. *King Richard III*

The most significant fact about man is that he is a social animal, that he was gregarious long before he earned the title of *homo sapiens*; consequently he possesses inherent tendencies which favour behaviour appropriate to social life, such as sympathy and mutual aid. It is on this innate sociality of man that his ethical code of behaviour is based. The pattern of ethical ideals specific to each individual is developed through education and training. From his earliest years he is bombarded by parents and teachers, books and the press, with a continuous series of do's and don'ts, which are derived from the traditions and existing codes of the society he lives in, modified, however, and sometimes even negat-

ed by his immediate environment. He learns to co-operate in his group, to seek approval and to avoid its disapproval. The total effect on the mind is to produce that powerful inner guardian of behaviour which we may conveniently call "conscience," a complicated psychic force which exhibits both conscious and unconscious, rational and irrational elements. An individual whose mind lacks complete synthesis (and such is frequently bound to be the case in a society which exhibits many contradictions) may under certain circumstances ignore the reactions that are based on his sociality, but conscience will subsequently cause him to experience a feeling of remorse. The more self-divided the individual is, the more likely is he to behave in a criminal manner, till we reach the type of dual personality, in whom alternate exhibitions of social and anti-social reactions take place, each unconscious of the other.

The psychic forces of conscience must not be confused with the values that guide it. It is such loose thinking that leads to the assertion that criminals do not possess a conscience, and cannot therefore experience remorse. They may not repent of a legal crime but that does not mean that they cannot experience remorse under other circumstances. The pattern of ethical values differs not only from society, but also in different groups of the same society, which is far from being homogeneous. Ethical values may develop in a completely topsy-turvy fashion if, as in the gangster areas of America, the individual is taught by theory and example from his earliest years that his proper function in life is to plunder greater society, that murder is often an inevitable stage in this process, and that such conduct is highly meritorious. It is in this manner that the individual, classified by Alexander and Staub as the "normal non-neurotic criminal," is fostered. To the average well-behaved citizen such a professional criminal will appear to have no conscience. This is strictly speaking not true, for even the gangster has his loyalties, exhibits sympathy and mutual aid in his particular group, is often a loving husband and a kind father. His conscience is clear inasmuch as he has the social approval of his lesser society. Dostoevsky's apposite observations are worth quoting here: "In one prison there were men whom I had known for several years, whom I believed to be savage beasts, and for whom, as such, I felt contempt; yet at the most unexpected moment their souls would involuntarily expand at the surface with such a wealth of sentiment and cordiality, with such a vivid sense of their own and others' suffering, that scales seemed to fall from one's eyes; for an instant the stupefaction was so great that one hesitated to believe what one had seen and heard." A practical proof of the essential humanity

of the criminal, demonstrating the tremendous influence of environment in the creation of the individual's sense of values, is the rehabilitation of many types of criminals, (thieves, murderers, embezzlers) during the building of the White Sea Canal in U. S. S. R.

In the case of Raskolnikov, however, we are not dealing with a professional criminal. He was brought up in the usual atmosphere of the lower middle classes, and even retains his Christian illusions to the end. The absence of a conscious feeling of remorse in his case cannot therefore be explained as in the occupational criminal.

The other type of individual who may commit legal crimes without a feeling of remorse is the "transvaluator of ethics," he who is dissatisfied with the existing scale of values and strives for the inauguration of a new pattern which he considers to be more just. Such an innovator does not stand alone psychologically, however isolated he may appear to be in society, as is often the case with a reformer who is ahead of his times. By the power of imagination his conscience obtains its sanctions from foreknowledge of the approval which future generations will bestow upon him. An aspect of such motivation is exhibited by the "noble bandit" or "generous outlaw" of romantic literature, by the rebel who, whilst unhesitatingly robbing the rich, nevertheless seeks to redress the wrongs of the poor and becomes the leader of a dissatisfied section of society.

It is the existence of these two antithetical types of legal criminals that puzzles Raskolnikov, and makes him cry out: "What is meant by crime?" But his own theory does not suggest a new ethical system which will solve this antinomy for society as a whole; he merely claims the right to certain modes of behaviour for exceptional individuals, a right which has always been assumed in his own opinion. The fallacies in Raskolnikov's argumentation will be exposed later, but for the present be it noted that inasmuch as his act of murder has no supporting social aims, it is only inevitable that remorse must follow. It is because his action is socially aimless that he cannot regain his sense of peace. Later, when in Siberia, he experiences a dream which symbolizes the futility of actions divorced from social objectives. He dreams that men all over the world are infected with microbes which cause each one to develop a different sense of right and wrong; no two can understand each other, and an endless bloody war results. This illustrates the aspect of Raskolnikov's crime which we are now considering; just as the artist must universalise his personal complexes before others can under-

stand him, so must the rebel socialise his protest before it can become acceptable. Raskolnikov's isolated action must therefore produce a feeling of remorse, for he cannot escape the ethic that has been hammered into his mind, a socio-individual penetration beyond recall.

How is it then that Raskolnikov is able to deny a feeling of remorse? His behaviour throughout, as will be shown, is typical of an individual who is inwardly suffering from such a feeling. The explanation lies in the fact that his mind exhibits a lack of integration so that he is unconscious of his remorse, which is represented in consciousness by an unending disquiet, anxiety or oppressiveness, and a general feeling of unhappiness.

The inhibiting power of Raskolnikov's conscience is evident even before the crime is committed. His state of wretched conflict starts from the time that he conceives the idea of the murder, and almost to the last moment he cannot believe that he will bring himself to do it—at the very door of the money-lender the thought flashes: "Shall I go back?" He is pale, his voice shakes, his hands tremble. This is certainly not the behaviour of an individual without a conscience! Once the murder is perpetrated, he is continually whirled in a cyclone of oppressive emotions, and his *unconscious* remorse forces him to flutter round the police officials, like a moth round a candle, until he confesses through an inner psychological necessity. Though he denies a *conscious* feeling of remorse, even when in Siberia, yet we are given a hint of his "gradual regeneration," when he will have learnt to know himself and so be enabled to effect an integration of his personality. Only after eighteen months of inward struggle in Siberia does the prospect of recognition of his unconscious remorse become apparent. One day he recollects that when looking into the river shortly after the crime, "he had perhaps been dimly conscious of the fundamental falsity in himself and his convictions."

That Raskolnikov is possessed with a deep inner sense of having perpetrated a social wrong is shown by the numerous incidents in which he is unconsciously forced into situations where he experiences suffering, for his system of thought, in conformity with the cultural tradition of his time, included a strong belief that all legal crime must be severely punished. The night after the murder he exclaims: "Surely it isn't beginning already! Surely it isn't my *punishment*⁽⁵⁾ coming upon me? It

(5) My italics.

is,!" and the next day the idea of confessing, with the hope that it will ease his oppressed mind, occurs to him. The sense of amputation from society which his crime produced in him, his utter sense of isolation, gives him no rest: he must come back to the human fold and be counted again, even if it is as a legal criminal. It is noteworthy that he develops calmer moods when he decides to confess, but with the fading of such resolution his agitation reappears. So deep is his sense of guilt that he cannot bear to be the recipient of any form of kindness or tenderness, feeling inwardly that he does not deserve any social recognition. Significantly enough he develops calmer and more confident moods when he is able to perform some kind social action: this brings him back to the social fold for the time being. One striking example may be given. He leaves his room to wander about aimlessly, tortured by his conflict, and considers in turn confession, intoxication and suicide as possible methods of escape; spurns the good-natured Razumihin, still cannot decide whether to confess or not, when he witnesses the accident to Marmeladov. Suddenly he becomes all action, helps to carry in the injured clerk, gives twenty roubles to the widow and promises to call again. His mood becomes resolute and triumphant; and he becomes sociable enough to call on Razumihin whose invitation only two hours previously he had rudely refused. His essentially social deed brings him back to humanity, and makes him forget his criminality for the moment.

The shafts of repressed remorse do not account for the totality of Raskolnikov's suffering. Long before the murder he suffered because of his poverty, with its consequent privations and humiliations; he suffered because his mother and sister suffered in a similiar way. The ultimate social origin of all this misery should be full recognized, instead of presenting the hero's tragedy as the idiosyncrasy of a "neurotic" individual, as has too often been done. At that historical period it was impossible for any Russian, whose feelings were not completely blunted, to live at ease, to be happy, so flagrant were the numerous injustices. I am assuming that we earnestly desire to diminish the sum of suffering in society, and I ignore the preachers of the dictum "suffering ennobles the soul." Raskolnikov's behaviour certainly disproves this sophism: his cup of bitter suffering is so full that it overflows and wounds all around him—Razumihin, his mother and sister, even his beloved Sonia—the only one who escapes being the thick-skinned Svidrigailov. Suffering, however, may have a social value; this does not lie in the affective experience itself, but in the reactions that it may provoke—it may help in the making of a social reformer. But the more numerous types of personality usual-

ly accept the suffering as "a cross to be borne" (e. g. Sonia), or else become criminals, so that suffering is a somewhat doubtful blessing for society.

IV.

The Napoleonic Theory

I am not as other men; the laws of morality and convention cannot be applied to me. *Napoleon*

Six months previous to the murder, Raskolnikov had already evolved blinkers for his conscience, his theory of "ordinary" and "extraordinary" types of man—the former law-abiding, the latter having the right to transgress the law. We must now assess the social significance of this theory.

The human being is so unconscious of the order and manner whereby his thoughts and trends of action have developed under the influences of his surrounding tradition and culture, that he comes to regard them as an exclusively personal possession. But even when he is behaving in what appears to be an original manner, he is reflecting various social forces, and this is equally true of all leaders and innovators. I am not here denying the uniqueness of individuality, for the numerous social pressures can be affirmed, negated and combined in an infinite variety of patterns, this differing to a lesser or greater extent in each individual according to his physical traits and environmental upbringing.

We shall obtain an impression of the social roots of Raskolnikov's theory if we get at the type of social organisation that would result if its principles were carried to their logical conclusions in practice. This can be readily done if we follow the fuller development of Raskolnikov's ideas by Nietzsche.⁽⁶⁾ The latter also envisages a society which is divided into two distinct classes, an aristocratic ruling caste (the "free spirits") and an inferior slave class. The superior "noble souls" are privileged to be essentially "egoists," and one of their virtues is to be totally indifferent to the sufferings of the masses, though they will exhibit sympathy among themselves. Religion will be preserved as "an additional means for overcoming resistance in the exercise of authority" by the ruling class, for it will give the subordinates "invaluable con-

⁽⁶⁾ Nietzsche drew his ideas from other sources too, e. g. from Max Stirner.

rentedness with their lot and condition." Economic arrangements will be based on exploitation, since this feature "does not belong to a decayed, or imperfect and primitive society: it belong to the nature of the living being as a primary organic function." Woman is to be treated as property; she must not take any interest in learning or culture, her first and last function being the bearing of children. The historical mass movements for freedom (e. g. the French Revolution) are to be despised and ridiculed, and the function of the millions must be reduced to the sole purpose of satisfying the ruling classes' most extravagant needs and perhaps of occasionally producing some great personality, who will either join or lead the privileged minority. An intermediate military caste would forcibly keep the proletariat in order, and prevent it from revolting. Finally we are warned that, "It might some time happen that the masses should become masters . . . Therefore, O my brothers, there is need of a new nobility, the adversary of all plebeians and all violent domination." Somehow all this sounds very familiar, all-too-familiar! Is it not exploitative society all over again, except that the contradictions are clearly etched out, and the whole position stated in brutally frank terms? No wonder that Nietzsche's whole philosophy, with its anti-rational and anti-democratic bias, its sadism, glorification of war and contemptuous attitude to woman ("Thou art going to women? Forget not the whip!") is so very popular in German at the present time.

Raskolnikov's theory is thus seen as a foreshadowing of the ideology of a fascist society, and there are good reasons why such theorising should have been in the air during the sixties. The European Revolutions of 1848 were not without their effect in Russia, where the masses began to realise that their masters were not so "extraordinary" that they could not be overthrown; and the aristocracy experienced a fright which they were not able to forget for a long time. The 1850's and early 1860's saw many peasant risings, and the growing radical literature had to be suppressed by the "temporary rules" of 1865—rules that lasted for forty years. Feeling itself in danger, the bureaucrats had to find theories to justify the maintenance of a division of society into classes, superior and inferior.

That Raskolnikov's Napoleonic theory is of social origin is also evident because from the purely individual point of view it carries no conviction, and is obviously a form of rationalisation. The murder of a pawnbroker cannot be placed in the same category as the slaying of soldiers in one of Napoleon's campaigns. Here Raskolnikov's fundamental

error is to regard history as a succession of the autonomous acts of certain specially endowed individuals. It is a tradition of thought carried over from the older court historiographers, from whose books one could almost forget the very existence of the masses. The *reductio ad absurdum* of this mode of interpreting human events is represented by Carlyle's fantastic theory of history as nothing but a succession of the "biographies of great men." This did not appear so ridiculous in the 1860's, and Raskolnikov no doubt imbibed such teaching in his University. The truth of the matter is that a leader in history is the agent of the interests of a particular group, and, far from being "above all law," he finds himself enmeshed in social forces beyond his control, which he denies only at his peril. Napoleon, whose career obsessed Raskolnikov, was fortunate enough to be born in a cataclysmic phase of the historical process, when the old feudal order was being attacked and replaced in many parts of Europe by the newly ascendant bourgeoisie, and the latter made use of his military genius for its own ends. He thus became the symbolic embodiment of the forces behind the French Revolution, and he was no more the prime cause of subsequent events than he was of the Revolution itself. His turning back of the page of history, by crowning himself Emperor and aping an historically dead feudal monarchy, complete with hereditary princess, counts and dukes, contributed towards his downfall. No longer could he be acclaimed as a liberator who might be trusted to demolish absolutism everywhere, and he finally lost the support of the masses, not only in the rest of Europe, but even in his own country.

Raskolnikov's Napoleonic theorising was not a compensation in phantasy for an inferiority complex, as in the case of Nietzsche, who was inwardly timid and delicate. Rather was it a sign of excessive strength and superabundant energy. The desire to rise in thought or deed above the average, to excel in life, which is the psychic force behind Raskolnikov's action, is a normal feature of the human organism, but it can obtain the completest fruition only when socialised. We are here faced with the chronic contradiction of "the individual versus society." In a society where success comes to those who ruthlessly exploit others, where the highest enjoy life at the expense of the suffering of millions of the masses, where individuality cannot expand to the full, it is not surprising that the full expression of one's self should seem to necessitate criminality in some form. Indeed, such a society may be said

to be based on criminality, a point which Raskolnikov drives home in his conversation with Luzhin. The latter defends the system based on exploitation, and then remarks on the great increase in crime in the preceding five years; Razumihin pertinently quotes the argument given by a criminal: "Everybody is getting rich one way or another, so I want to make haste to get rich too." Raskolnikov here bursts out with: "But why worry about it? It's in accordance with your theory! . . . Why, carry out logically the theory you were advocating just now, and it follows that people may be killed." This mode of reasoning has been acted upon to such a considerable extent nowadays that gangsterism, kidnappings, racketeering, robberies with murder, have become a normal feature of everyday life in some parts of America, and it requires a very fine ethical sense to distinguish between the legal criminal and the financier who manipulates on the stock exchange to ruin thousands of homes. The American criminologist, Karpman, has truly remarked that "many of our millionaires are but successful criminals; our criminals are the fellows who have failed in their ambition." The fullest development of one's individuality, i. e., the completest efflorescing of all ones latent talents, be it mechanical, scientific, artistic, or administrative, is only possible in democratic, non-exploitative society. In Tsarist Russia frustration, abnegation, renunciation were forced on the masses, and Raskolnikov in his cupboard den could only dream of futile crimes, whereas in U. S. S. R. thousands of Raskolnikovs have been enabled to develop into engineers, doctors, inventors, painters, writers and administrators.

Unable to find outlets for his energies under the existing conditions, Raskolnikov could only think of "stepping over barriers," as so many others were doing, be it legally or illegally. It is to his great credit that his conscious ideological choice is not expressive of his total personality. It is patent that the Nietzschean theory never satisfies his mind; it never gives him peace. This passionate soul who could bow down before all the sufferings of humanity, argue as he will on the conscious plane, cannot make himself into a roving blind beast of prey.

Thus we see how the dual ethic of his society is reflected in Raskolnikov: on the one hand the lip-service Christianity, on the other the *de facto* criminal exploitation of the workers and peasants by a corrupt bureaucracy.

V.

Duality

But now, to what you have told me of your inward quality that trait is indeed common to all. *Dostoevsky.*

To what extent Raskolnikov⁽⁷⁾ possessed some physical predisposition to exaggerate duality, it is difficult to say in the absence of precise information concerning his earlier years of life. His mother states that he exhibited a capricious temperament at the age of fifteen, but this is not sufficient evidence on which to claim the presence of an innate biopsychological trait. If predisposition there was, the outer social contradictions all the more readily formed their crystallisations in his personality.

The duality penetrates his attitudes to other people, and every aspect of his behaviour. It is most beautifully shown in his contacts with Sonia and Svidrigailov, each of whom is symbolic of the two trends in his mind; Sonia stands for his conscience, the latter for his Napoleonic theory. He is both attracted and repelled by these two, though in the main he loves Sonia but despises Svidrigailov. His repressed feeling of remorse draws him to Sonia, who, as the very incarnation of Christian meekness, is convinced of her own and Raskolnikov's sins. Yet he argues with her, justifying his crime with his usual cold logic. To Svidrigailov he is drawn because this profligate had "dared" so much without apparently experiencing a twinge of conscience: is not this how he himself had planned to act—to commit a crime in cold blood and then be able to joke about it? Yet again Raskolnikov upbraids Svidrigailov, and is disgusted by this lounging landowner whose hobby at one time was card-sharping among "men of the best society," and who escaped a debtor's prison by prostituting himself to a rich woman older than himself. Svidrigailov taunts Raskolnikov for worrying about virtue, Sonia urges him to confess and expiate his sin. The antinomies in our hero's mind could not have been better illustrated.

Be it noted that even the dissolute Svidrigailov finds the burden of attempted social nihilism too great to bear in the end. He is finally driven to suicide, and before doing so, bequeaths all his money to his newly betrothed and to Sonia, and remarks that "perhaps she (Dounia) would

(7) It is interesting to note that, in Russian, *raskol* signifies split, schism.

have made a man of me somehow." This conscience inflicts on Svidrigailov the severest form of punishment—death.

Raskolnikov's duality is also prominently displayed in his tortuous path of confession: he exhibits an endless oscillation between a definite decision to confess and a disgusted antagonism towards doing so. For nearly two weeks he remains in this state of conflict, and only Sonia's influence finally makes him confess to the police, but not before he has put in an argument against doing so, the significance of which will readily be grasped in view of what we have already said: Why should he plead guilty to police officials, "knaves and scoundrels . . . (who) destroy men by millions themselves and look on it as a virtue."

His very suffering becomes tremendous owing to its dual origin. Not only does his conscience cause him suffering, but also has Napoleonic theory, according to which he ought not to suffer. He suffers, and suffers because he is suffering.

Even comparatively trivial acts exhibit the cleavage in his mind, the lack of integration. He experiences a desire for human society and goes to a tavern, only to become highly irritated when Marmeladov addresses him. He leaves some coppers in Marmeladov's house, and immediately considers this a stupid action. He comes compassionately to the aid of a girl of the streets, only to experience a complete revulsion of feeling. Always it is a see-saw between a kind sociable action and the theory he has forced upon himself. But this large-hearted student, who at one time had spent his last penny in supporting another poor student, cannot make a mythical beast of prey of himself, however much he tries.

As one might expect, the murder itself is expressive of his contradictory nature. In choosing a useless, avaricious victim in order to establish his "daring," he at the same time negates this ambition. For if it were purely a question of daring, he should have pounced upon some human being at random, quite neutral to him emotionally, not one who was cruel and spiteful, so that he would be able to soothe his conscience by asking: "It is a crime to have killed . . . a vampire living on the life of the poor?" Again, the crime may be regarded as both an affirmation and a denial of the existing social system. It affirms inasmuch as it exhibits the *de facto* right to enrich oneself by trampling on others; it denies inasmuch as he attacks with hatred a usurious moneylender, who may well serve as a symbol of the existing exploiting system. Thus the murder does not solve Raskolnikov's conflict, any more than such an isolated action could solve the contradictions in the society around him.

VI.

A Lost Leader

Beyond a certain point clever people can never transcend the limitations of the social culture they inherit. *L. Hogben.*

Raskolnikov was not an isolated sufferer in the midst of a crowd of happy human beings. His poverty and hunger, frustrations and humiliations, were shared by thousands around him. He could observe the cooped up masses living in a state of ignorance, starvation, dirt and disease—more like beasts than human beings. He was one of the numerous insulted and injured, all victims of the sickness of an inadequate society. Katerina Ivanovna selling herself to Marmeladov because “she had nowhere to turn,” Sonia prostituting herself in order to save her starving parents and their three children, the bloodsucking Alyona beating and exploiting Lizaveta, proud Dounia selling herself after a sleepless night to Luzhin in order to help her brother, are not all these but flagrant signs of the same social malady?

Moreover, apart from the misery of his immediate surroundings, Raskolnikov, as an intelligent student, could not have been unaware of the widespread existence of a similar state of affairs all over Russia. The progressive members of the intelligentsia proclaimed the horrible state of affairs in prose and verse. Reshetnikov described how everywhere the peasant was cruelly exploited, Pomyalovsky exposed the brutalities of the theological schools, Levitov depicted the embittered suffering in village and towns, Nekrasov in splendid poetry bemoaned the piteous fate of the peasants—to mention only the more outstanding authors. How is it then that Raskolnikov fails to see that in his final analysis his problem is not individual, but a social one?

Before attempting to answer this question, we must note that such a problem cannot be solved by intelligence alone, which is not an independent faculty of the mind, but is built upon a basis of conative trends conditioned differently in every individual according to environmental experiences. It required a special concatenation of circumstances in those days for an individual in Russia to acquire that penetrating grasp of reality which is necessary before social problems can be adequately assessed. Raskolnikov, in spite of his high order of intelligence, failed in this particular. This may seem remarkable, but if his lack of complete mental integration is recalled, the failure will be more readily understood.

His duality was undoubtedly a great obstacle which hindered his proper apprehension of reality, for it threw him back upon himself into a continual futile chasing of inner motives, into moods of excessive introspection and self-analysis, so that he became quite obsessed with his inner world and regarded it as the prime reality—instead of realising that it was a reverberation, even if in a far and subtle manner, of the outer social world.

There was another important factor which contributed to Raskolnikov's brooding, which served to block his rebellious path to revolutionary ends. I refer to the deeply pessimistic atmosphere which clouded the sixties. It will be recalled that a reaction commenced in 1862, when strong repressive measures began to be taken against all radicals. Pisarev was imprisoned the same year, and Chernyshevsky was exiled to hard labour in Siberia for his socialist propaganda in 1864. By the year 1865 many enthusiasms for progress had been shattered, and some minds even became deranged with the bitter disappointment of fighting against the powerful repressive forces.⁽⁸⁾ Hundreds of radicals who lost their revolutionary faith turned to orthodoxy, mysticism, drink or utter apathy. Such gloomy periods had happened previously in Russia (1848-55), and were to happen again in the eighties.

This atmosphere of pessimism could not but have its effect on Raskolnikov, a type of Russian intellectual who was able to observe the superficial social contradictions, but saw no way out in the fog of Westernism, Slavophilism, Nihilism, Liberalism and other "isms" of the disrupted intelligentsia. During such a period of reaction the hopeless views are apt to prevail—that the structure of human society cannot change and that it is futile to attempt any amelioration, that the bureaucrats will always remain on top with the workers and peasant slaving for them, that the Romanovs must last forever. Here and there Raskolnikov exhibits that he harbours such a static view of society, and consequently cannot be bothered to do anything in the matter. He expresses himself on this point in the following terms: "Then I saw, Sonia, that if one waits for everyone to get wiser it will take too long . . . Afterwards I understood that that would never come to pass, that men won't

⁽⁸⁾ Dostoevsky himself underwent a terrible experience because of his association with a group of progressives who met to discuss questions of property, monarchy, family and religion under the presidency of Petrashevsky. In 1849 the Tsarist authorities perpetrated an act of the most brutal cruelty—the death sentence was read out to twenty-one of the group, and after they had been waiting half an hour for the execution, they were reprieved. One of them became permanently insane.

change and that nobody can alter it and that it's not worth wasting effort over it." Naturally he regards prostitution as a permanent phenomenon of society (he refers to Sonia as "the eternal victim so long as the world lasts"), not realising that, like war and unemployment, it is merely an inevitable accompaniment of particular types of social organisation.

Thus the prevalent pessimism and his own excessive self-inquisition helped to block Raskolnikov's possibilities of revolutionary action. In addition, he was held back by his Christian illusions, for, in spite of his Nietzschean ideas, he was no atheist. Throughout the tragedy he never loses faith in this "opium of the masses," and his own excessive suffering, combined with the influence of Sonia, makes him cling all the more firmly to the simple beliefs that he had learned at his mother's knee. Sonia teaches him anew how to pray, and in Siberia a New Testament lies under his pillow—we know that later he will pore over it.

What is his ultimate fate in the novel?

He continues in Siberia to suffer from the inadequacies of the Tsarist system, which affected penology as every other social sphere. There was no question of attempting to rehabilitate criminals, of "reforging" them into useful citizens. He was put to useless routine labour, housed under insanitary, overcrowded conditions, flogged on the slightest pretext by brutal warders. But Raskolnikov accepted the filth of Siberia as a punishment to assuage his unconscious remorse. He comes to recognise his guilt⁽⁹⁾ and so effects an integration of his mind, but the eight years put a seal over his rebellion, and he must come back as the passive resigned victim of pre-revolutionary Russia.

Just as the causation of criminal behaviour rests both in society and in the individual, so must responsibility be shared by the two. And what does this signify in practice? Certainly not to vengefully "punish" either the individual or society, but to reform them so that such behaviour can no longer occur. Society must modify or alter educational, environmental, economic conditions; the individual must acquire such understanding and self-knowledge as to learn the true personal and social significance of criminal behavior, and here again society must organise

⁽⁹⁾ I cannot agree with Brückner, who wrote that Dostoevsky took "*fausse route*" in hinting that Raskolnikov would undergo a "resurrection." The murder was committed with only part of himself, in the face of great internal opposition; the conscious recognition of remorse would be no artificially engrafted feature, but the coming to light of a facet of the mind that existed from the very beginning.

the necessary facilities. Unfortunately, Raskolnikov has no one to guide him in this respect. Although he ultimately recognises his guilt, he fails to grasp the actual significance of his crime. For this shortcoming, under the conditions in which he lived, we cannot rightfully allocate great blame, as no attempt was made in Tsarist days to educate criminals in a sympathetic manner. And how many of us can fully relate all the springs of even our ordinary human behaviour? Full insight is an ideal rarely attained. But this does not abrogate the duty associated with the concept of responsibility, which is to strive in attaining this ideal, so that we can become as nearly as possible "free" individuals by realising our powers our directive strivings and our proper spheres of activity in society.

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PILATE

ARTHUR N. FOXE, M. D.

New York City

The trial and crucifixion of Jesus form a vital hinge in the development of western culture and hence modern psychology. Any characterological position, then, would be highly interesting and important. Pilate's position would seem to offer a particularly bright body of information. An examination of the proceedings before Pilate may be gathered from St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John. The four narratives are very much in accord, although each gives material that the others omit. Pilate, caught in the maelstrom of events, hardly could have had any estimable knowledge of the profundity of what was going on about him. Nonetheless, he as an individual was deeply stirred in his unenviable position of scapegrace for those he represented; the position of the plain man who does not see entirely the logical argument nor understand the deeper emotions, but acts out of duty and for reasons, as well, of personal individual security, at the same time desperately and futilely trying to shake himself free from any involvement of his conscience. Quite human and warm, he struggles and gasps Laocoon-like in the coils of the situation.

Jesus, bound, is brought before the palace. Pilate issues forth and immediately is confused by a sophistry that irritates him considerably. He asks, "What accusation bring ye against this man?" The answer is, "If this man were not an evil-doer, we should not have delivered him up unto ye." This obviously is a presumption and an attempt to take judgment out of Pilate's hands. He will have none of it and says rather firmly, "Take him yourselves, and judge him according to your law." Immediately the way of the mob reverses itself, drops its arrogance and in fact becomes somewhat pleading, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." Here is an ethical distinction that is hard to understand, as if there were anything more than a vague teleological difference between sentence and execution. In everyday practice, to be sure, there is a distinction between judgment and execution, or between the legislature and the executive; the latter being something of a servant to the

former. Also, in practice, it usually is more difficult to apprehend a gang leader than his henchmen. Further, in times past, the executioner has been masked whereas the judge generally has been given a more decorous and dignified position. It is as if the closer one gets to the actual killing of a man, it becomes too much for any one individual to bear and he must be self-effacing or anonymous; he himself also must be socially dead.

Pilate questions further and then the answer, "We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ the King." The first part of this accusation readily is the most momentous, Jesus is accused of disturbing the peace of the Jews, certainly not of the Empire. Pilate is placed in a delicate diplomatic position when Caesar is brought into the picture. Apparently, the presence before him of a poor man does not impress Pilate with the idea of the refusal to give tribute to powerful Caesar. He sees the attempt as a somewhat specious loyalty to Caesar; certainly Pilate would be able to judge alone if the protest were against Caesar. Then too, the indignation of the accusers is too great for a tribute offense. Pilate at this point could have accepted this and taken Jesus under his custody and done as he wished with him, perhaps even freed him, but as will be seen, the wrath of the crowd is too great, too great to make it seem merely a violation of the code of Caesar, although indirectly it would be no great concern to Caesar to subdue any refusal or implication of refusal to pay tribute, even symbolically in Jesus upon whom the refusal could be projected by the Jews, themselves pressed by the tribute they must pay. Jesus thus disturbs them but serves them as well in that their accusation against him contains their own grievance against Caesar. It is not uncommon to condense all manner of accusations in the scapegoat. Pilate is not a Caesar and hesitates to take everything into his own hands. Pilate thus is appealed to as in Caesar's employ and an implication is made that Jesus' behavior is hazardous to Caesar as well. In this there may have been some truth if a more general revolt against Caesar were in the air, apart from anything that Jesus ever did or said. It would be certain, however, that any threat to the Empire would be remote in time. The third part of the accusation seems nothing more than a fused repetition of the first two parts. It will be seen how nicely Pilate surmounts this problem.

But first Pilate is perplexed and withdraws into the palace, calling Jesus after him, thus taking Jesus from the religion of the Jews, for to

enter the place on this day was defilement. Pilate, one would think, is making out a case for lunacy to help Jesus, for he artfully asks, "Art thou King of the Jews?" Alas, even this way out is not present for the distraught Pilate, for he is answered only too wisely, "Suspect thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee concerning me?" Angry at Jesus' seeming unwillingness to save himself on such a basis, angry because of the failure of his arch but naive strategem, Pilate also shows his anger with the Jews, for he says, "Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done?" Pilate thinks in a nationalistic and material way and not in the spiritual. Jesus then disavows material interest and the concept of nation by saying, "My Kingdom is not of this world: if my Kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my Kingdom not from hence." To Pilate most of this represents only words and he cannot understand the spiritual implications. Further, in the fact that Jesus has adherents he may see something of a threat. He asks a question that truly would verify the accusation and quickly solve the problem if answered in a certain way. He cannot make the assumption because he does not understand all that Jesus says. His question therefore attempts to dissect away the spiritual implications that were made, "Art Thou a King then?" A positive answer would merely be an admission of insanity or guilt. To repeat that his Kingdom was not of this world would not help Pilate and perhaps only irritate him more. It would leave Pilate with a theological problem far beyond his grasp, nor does Jesus seem at all intent on vexing Pilate. He therefore turns the issue to the more prosaic one of truth, "Thou sayest that I am a King: To this end have I been born and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice." Pilate somewhat cynically and undoubtedly full of perplexity says, "What is truth?" and without awaiting an answer goes out again.

By this time he is touched by Jesus' personality, honesty and integrity, although he may think him to be something of a mad philosopher. Before the palace Pilate says, "I find no fault in this man." He makes Jesus just a man. This is a courageous position but then further accusations pour forth, "He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judaea, and beginning from Galilee even unto this place." This accusation is different from the original one only in that it is more specific and readily admits the power of Jesus' teachings. Pilate sees a way out, for Galilee was in Herod's jurisdiction. He sends Jesus to Herod, now

in Jerusalem. "Now when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad; for he was of a long time desirous to see him, because he had heard concerning him; and he hoped to see some miracle done by him. And he questioned him in many words; but he answered him nothing." Herod then mocks Jesus and sends him back to Pilate. Herod, superstitious and curious, probably is as much relieved that Jesus performs no positive miracle, as he is disappointed in not being amused and made to wonder. It is through this episode that Pilate and Herod, who had been at enmity, became friends with each other. How two men can become friends through the misfortunes of a third person is a strange but not rare psychological event. Perhaps Herod was pleased and flattered that Pilate called upon him, while Herod, by his examination of Jesus, takes the first fraction of responsibility off Pilate's weakening shoulders. Herod, it would seem, felt very much the same as Pilate.

"While Pilate now was sitting on the judgment seat, his wife sent unto him saying, 'Have nothing to do with that righteous man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him.'" Here another pressure is placed upon Pilate, the plain man, by his wife. She senses that her power and security, as well as that of her husband, depend on a material adjudication that will appease those in power in a minority group, and heeds not at all the moral issues involved. She willingly and in fear is oblique to these issues. In fact, she assumes some of the guilt and so relieves her husband in a comparable amount. She is rather down to earth and practical, like Lady Macbeth. Nonetheless, Pilate continues to test the multitudes to the limit of their endurance.

Pilate then addresses the priests, rulers and people, "Ye brought unto me this man, as one that perverteth the people: and behold, I, having examined him before you, found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him: no, nor yet Herod." Herod, of course, seemed more interested in the question of miracles than guilt, but Pilate includes him in the exculpation. He continues, "Ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the Passover; will ye therefore that I release unto you the King of the Jews?" Pilate is somewhat cynical and pointed in calling Jesus the King of the Jews when actually this is one of the accusations against Jesus. He wishes to keep it a local problem. But "They cried out again, saying, Not this man but Barabbas." Now Barabbas was an insurrectionist, robber, and murderer and it is he whom they wish to be spared: sanction thus is given to robbery and murder—simple elemental crimes of an individual, perhaps more easily handled

than the disturbing influence of Jesus. A balance is struck in that a killer's release is requested as a request is made to kill a man. The demand for Barabbas involves Pilate more completely in the situation. Again he is drawn in and any decision he makes involves some personal choice. By this time Pilate is beyond any calm reason and plunges into the fray with the accusers. He leaves himself wide open by saying, "What then shall I do unto him ye call the King of the Jews?" "And they cried out, Crucify him." At this point Pilate has wedged in an acceptance of Jesus as the King of the Jews, so intent are they on his destruction. But Pilate persists and says, "Take him yourselves, and crucify him: for I find no crime in him." He is answered, "We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." For the first time the religious issue is raised. Under such issues Pilate had shown himself notoriously helpless and now he weakens more under this pressure. He speaks to Jesus again, perhaps looking for some argument to cast back at the crowd. He asks, "Knowest thou not that I have power to release thee, and have power to crucify thee?" Pilate entangles himself ever more deeply by the admission of his powers. The choice is becoming somewhat more clearly defined in his mind. He is answered, "Thou wouldst have no power against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath greater sin." This is a rather powerful indictment against the accusers but one unfortunately that Pilate cannot use practically, and which only adds further to his guilt and resentment at the accusers. He hardly considers Jesus important enough in the implication that Pilate is less at fault in that his power is only borrowed.

Pilate once again makes an attempt to release Jesus but now he is struck at the point of his greatest fear and weakness. He is told, "If thou release this man thou art not Caesar's friend, everyone that maketh himself a King speaketh against Caesar." Pilate is unable to distinguish between the Kingdom of this and another world, he is completely lost and he has no grasp of the subtlety of the argument. He offers to chastise and release Jesus. In fantastic and almost pleading distress he vaguely suggests that they accept Jesus as their leader. He says, "Behold your King." But they cry back forcefully and now easily victorious, "Away with him, Away with him, Crucify him." Pilate's last bit of hope appears in his next brief question, remarkable for its compaction of all that he feels in the matter, "Shall I crucify your King?" And again Pilate's most vulnerable spot is struck in the last paralyzing blow, "We have no King but Caesar." Pilate by his insistence on Jesus' superiority to the

accusers permits himself to be led into the position where he might be accused of helping one who now appeared to be an enemy of Caesar's. He is placed in a position of being less loyal to Caesar than the accusers. In a convulsive frenzy to release himself from his anguish, revulsion at the crowd, and deep sense of guilt, he washes his hands before the multitude and in desperate anger says, "I am innocent of the blood of this righteous man: see ye to it." As if such a gesture and statement really could release him; no, the guilt remains partially his and he shows it to the end. "Then he released unto them Barabbas: but Jesus he scourged and delivered to be crucified."

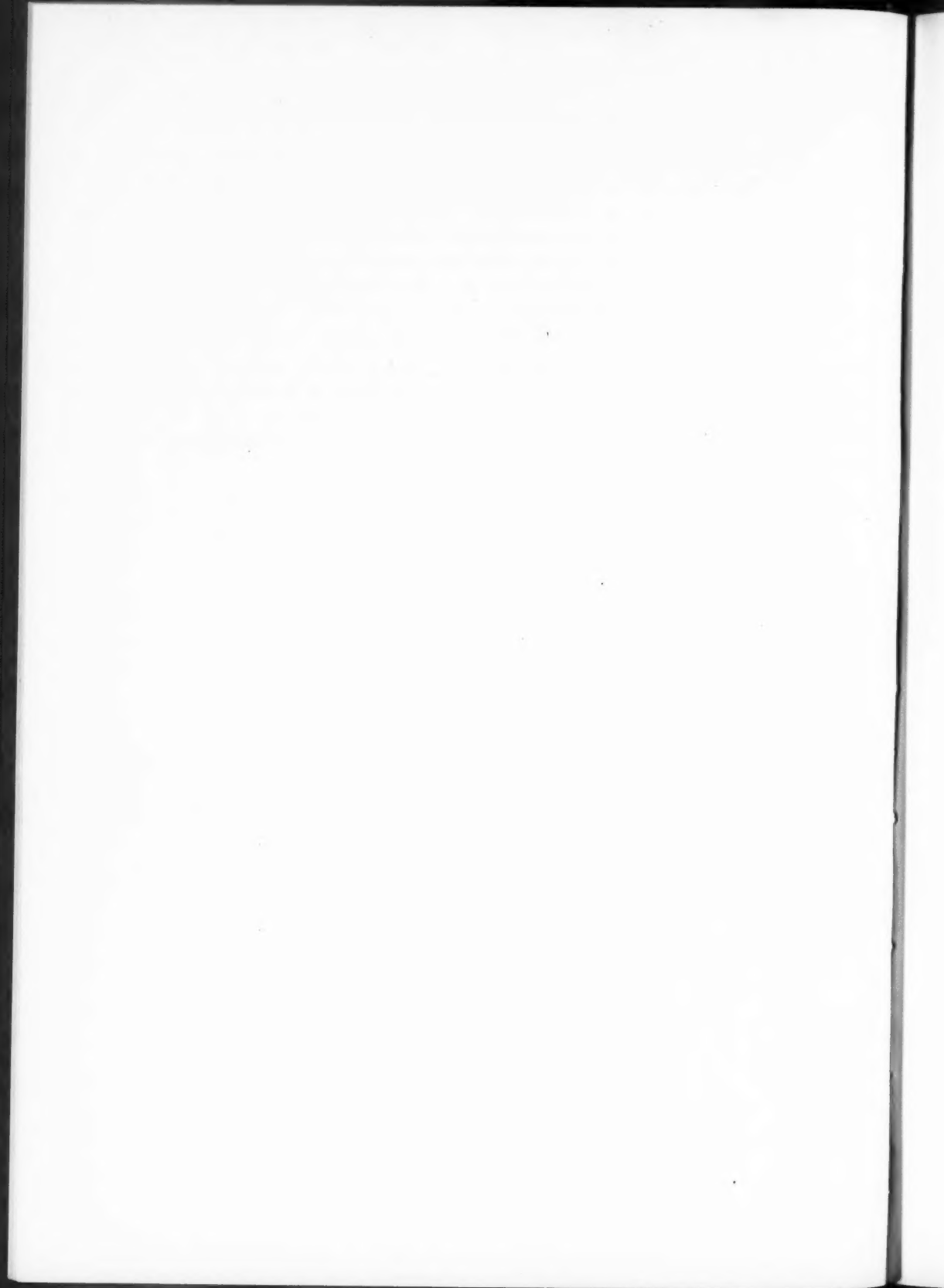
Pilate's struggle is between clinging to what he has materially struggled for all his life, his position, security, family—all these opposed on the other hand by his conscience, as yet not fully cold and hardened by administrative care. He is the plain official who does not know formal ethics but who has had sufficient security to have remained somewhat sentimental and warm. Something in him will not permit him to kill needlessly nor can he see the power of ideas in Jesus or others. He is broken down through fear although he puts up what seems to be a violent struggle. He is not gifted and only of average intelligence, yet withal a good man, who probably wishes, in such an inevitable crisis, that he had not even attained so far. His strength, his conscience, that he vainly tries to save under the staggering blows of Jesus' irrefragable position, personality and power which he only feels and none too clearly understands, the material gain of Herod's favor, the foreboding anxiety of his wife, the threat of disfavor with Caesar, the inexorable demands of the multitude for which he has neither the intellectual nor cunning wherewithal to cope, the pain of his own stabbing conscience, the rending of his whole personality structure, the weak fibre of his morale, the choice of the safe way, the inability any more than vaguely to recognize and properly evaluate human worth and distinction. With the washing of his hands and the last futile effort to free his conscience, he becomes dead, morally and spiritually. He even crucifies himself, in a way. After this he is beaten and only can hate but never again feel warmth; he must hate all those who involved him—the Jews, authority as in Caesar, Herod, his wife, Jesus perhaps least, and most painful of all, himself.

This struggle (of course not always in such a dramatically exquisite way) is not a rare event in everyday life. It is met by every rising individual, in business, government and other organized groups. Most kin-

dred is what goes on in courtrooms every day and in every town. To judge one's fellow man is a hazardous business, left often to a jury—for no one man can bear such a burden with any equanimity. Each moment of the courtroom scene proceeds with the nice balance of, for and against. Each witness, each guard, each spectator and even each news-reader goes through the same struggle. The hazard is shown in the stiffness of the jury after a verdict of guilty as compared with the relative ease and relaxation after a verdict of acquittal. Dante would have Pilate appear pitiless. No, he is pitiful. Pilate's last dead satisfaction is his inscription on the cross, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews." The chief priest of the Jews asks Pilate not to write "King of the Jews" but "I am the King of the Jews." Pilate answers, "What I have written I have written"

25 West 54th St.,

New York City.



GROUP SEX CONFERENCES AS A DIAGNOSTIC,
THERAPEUTIC AND PEDAGOGIC METHOD

FRANK J. CURRAN, M. D.

BERNARD V. STRAUSS, M. D.

B. FRANK VOGEL, M. D.

*From the Division of Psychiatry, Bellevue Hospital,
and the New York University Medical School,
Department of Psychiatry.
New York, N. Y.*

Soon after the opening of the Adolescent Male Ward of Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital in April 1937, it was realized that a dearth of accurate sex knowledge existed on the part of the boys. They range in age from 12 to 16 years and are kept routinely for a 30 day observation period. The daily census usually averages from 40 to 50 and, as has been described elsewhere,⁽¹⁾ the ward population is a heterogenous one. There are neglected boys, conduct disorders, neurotics, mental defectives and a few psychotics. The majority are delinquents on remand from the Children's Courts of the city.

As more data were accumulated, it became evident that there were widely prevalent sexual misconceptions, even among the group of delinquents whom we had good reason to expect to be better informed than the average on sexual matters, since many were sent to the hospital precisely because of their sex offenses. A statistical study dealing with the types of delinquencies and the diagnoses of the patients has been published.⁽²⁾ The study reveals that the percentage of sex offenders in the ward population has been consistently in the neighborhood of 18-20%.⁽³⁾

When we learned of the incorrect and sometimes bizarre sexual notions held by these boys, we felt it was necessary to deal with this problem while the boys were in the hospital. After theoretical consideration and much trial and error, we instituted group conferences on sex, and utilize such conferences as a part of the ward routine, just as we utilize the drama project with its group discussion.⁽³⁾

Every patient on the ward is a member of such a group conference at least once during his hospital stay, and when it is so indicated, takes part in several. Our practice is a specialized form of the group therapy employed by Bender⁽⁴⁾ and Schilder.⁽⁵⁾ Before a boy is asked to participate in a conference he has been examined and carefully interviewed by the psychiatrist in charge of his case. In this way a foreknowledge is obtained of any special sexual problem present. As shall be seen, this is of value in determining the make-up of the group and also in suggesting particular aspects of topics to be discussed. In general, these groups are built in a fairly definite manner. Obviously, a group composed exclusively of mental defectives or withdrawn psychotic boys would provide a relatively sterile discussion.

Also, we have confirmed the findings of other investigators⁽⁶⁾ with regard to the generally greater sex knowledge of the negro boy. For these reasons, a typical group may have as its components a mental defective, an epileptic or psychotic; and the remainder consist of non-psychotic and non-defective delinquents, one of whom is a negro boy. We have found that this heterogeneity leads to the greatest freedom in discussion.

The selected group of boys is assembled in a small room as free from interruption as possible and is informed by the psychiatrist in a matter-of-fact manner that the purpose of the meeting is to discuss sexual problems with a view toward correcting any misconceptions they might have. Occasionally one of the boys may be suspicious and ask whether his statements will be recorded on his chart. Others, less frank, will whisper to their fellows to say nothing because of possible consequences. Still others will refuse to take part at all. The boys are again told that the purpose of the meeting is solely educational and that nothing else is implied. The more veiled type of distrust is ignored since we have found that generally within a few minutes all the boys are participating actively in the discussion.

In arriving at this method many factors are considered. The individual interview between the patient and psychiatrist has its advantages in that a better rapport sometimes arises and material of a deeply painful nature, that might be withheld in a group conference, may be elicited. Nevertheless, in group discussions, patients who were greatly preoccupied with sexual problems could easily be detected and then later seen in psychotherapeutic interviews.

The boys quickly feel that this is not a personal interview and that they are not being judged or evaluated in the uncritical atmosphere of the group discussion. As a result of hearing other express their views on previously forbidden or unmentioned topics, they soon lose much of the usual tension with which any previous sex talks with teachers and parents had been associated. Anxiety which may long have been harbored regarding the supposed ill-effects of various indulgences is also lessened. Learning that they are not solitary offenders has a heartening effect, since they observe that their own feelings, temptations, and deeds are not unique.

In individual interviews the delinquent boy usually lies, covers-up details of his past, and indicates his fear of punishment for the act or acts charged against him. He often withholds all knowledge of sexual matters, correct or incorrect that he may have, hoping that he will be considered a good boy if he denies all such knowledge. He may say that he has only heard other boys discussing sex but that he did not understand, or even that he has forgotten what was said. In group discussions such a boy quickly takes an active part. In the herd, the expression of the majority makes for acceptance, and social sanction loosens the tongue.

The actual number composing the group was arbitrarily fixed at five after a period of experimentation. With a larger number there tended to be too much hilarity and the situation was identified with the classroom. Since most of the boys had, at one time or another, caused considerable difficulty in school, their former pattern of reaction tended to reappear. Rather than resort to disciplinary measures and so impair the fundamental idea of free discussion, the group was limited. The advantages of handling more cases in the same time-period was foregone even though crowded wards would have made it desirable.

In addition, in larger groups the boys tended to separate into two or more camps opposed to one another. By clowning or disturbing the proceedings a small group-portion could effectually prevent the others from carrying on the discussion. Groups smaller than 5 were impractical because of the extended time factor involved in including every patient in such conferences. Boys were reticent, and if a mental defective or two were included, the discussion was relatively empty, since the boys who would have talked under other circumstances, felt singled out as if they were lecturing, and so resented the entire situation. Stimulation from fellow members of the group is of considerable importance

in maintaining the smooth flow of the discussion. In certain circumstances, however, there is no reason why this method cannot be employed for any sized group. Stirt⁽⁷⁾ had occasion to deal with an acute sexual problem in an entire class and employed a method of open and uncritical discussion successfully.

Following the explanation to the assembled group of the purpose of the discussion, the boys are asked whether they have any particular questions. Almost invariably with the heterogenous groups described, some boy asks for information about a topic that has puzzled him for some time. The psychiatrist asks whether one of the other boys can answer the question. If no one volunteers each is asked what his information is regarding that question. In this manner considerable data concerning adolescent sexual misconceptions have been collected. If no question is set, then the psychiatrist introduces a topic, usually that of masturbation. This is deliberately chosen because we have found that practically all our adolescent boys have unresolved conflicts associated with this practice. Once the discussion begins the psychiatrist does little more than guide and keep it from becoming a mere smutty exchange. This rarely happens and the unemotional matter-of-fact air is preserved throughout the conference. In general there is an active interchange of ideas and whenever an opinion is expressed another member of the group is asked to comment on it.

If no one is able to give the correct information the psychiatrist presents the solution. However, this is avoided as far as possible because of the following reasons: First, it is desired that the boys feel that the discussion is really theirs. Second, giving them the answers is too reminiscent of school or lecture technique to which they are conditionally opposed. Last—by withholding final comment the boys bring out bizarre and mistaken sexual notions. When they hear the correct explanation from one of their fellows and it is only confirmed, rather than forced upon them, by the psychiatrist, they are better able to accept it as new and true knowledge.

The boys are encouraged to feel and speak without restriction or self-criticism. They use the terminology with which they are familiar, and they are quite at ease as soon as they become aware that the psychiatrist offers no censure. In answering them we employ their own terms to ensure comprehension but we also mention the more socially-accepted synonyms. In this way, at the end of a conference they not only possess more correct concepts but also a new vocabulary of sexual terms.

The average conference lasts from 45 to 60 minutes. Frequent topics are masturbation, impregnation, the nature of ejaculation and semen, frequency of coitus consistent with health, gonorrhea and syphilis and their modes of contagion, sexual perversions, etc. Each of these subjects is gone into sufficiently to ensure understanding and correction of previous misconceptions. If the entire group professes ignorance about a certain phase of sexuality and it is then described by the psychiatrist, it is important that the latter, after finishing his discussion, request the boys to repeat what he has just said — as he may have inadvertently used obscure terms which confused his audience, so that they have misunderstood him, and would later misquote him. In order to clarify certain details, blackboard drawings are sometimes made by the psychiatrist or simple diagrams from an appropriate book (7) are shown to the group.

The following is an excerpt of a typical group conference. A brief description of the subjects who participated is given:

Lawrence — a 15 year old colored boy sent in on a court remand. His most recent delinquency consisted of assault and robbery. This was done in company with several other boys. Lawrence has a previous record of similar offenses. He also has a record of truancy, drinking and sex offenses. He comes from a broken home. His parents are both now under anti-leucic therapy and his father is alcoholic. His I.Q. is at a border-line level. (Stanford-Binet 67). He is classified as a borderline defective with a conduct disturbance.

Norman — a 13 year old white boy brought to the hospital by his step-mother, having been referred by a mental hygiene clinic. He is a small, thin, seclusive boy who has been involved in many petty delinquencies chiefly stealing from his step-mother. He is a very unhappy youngster and constantly provokes the bigger boys until they strike him. This pattern is repetitive and is a carry-over from his behavior on the outside. He has no friends of either sex. His I.Q. places him as of average intelligence. (Stanford-Binet 102). He is classified as a psychoneurotic with schizoid traits and marked feelings of inadequacy.

John — a white boy of 14 years sent by the court as a delinquent. This is his second admission. He manifests disobedience, hyperactivity, temper tantrums and aggressiveness. He has been having grand mal seizures for the past four years; and has a typical so-called epileptoid personality. At present his I.Q. is that of a dull normal, (Stanford-Binet 83) and he is psychotic: having auditory, visual, and olfactory hallucinations. He is classified as Psychosis with Epilepsy.

Philip — a 14 year old white boy sent in by the court as a sexual delinquent. He has a record of numerous delinquencies which he freely admits — although he has not previously been a court case. About a year ago he began to consort with a girl of 19 years. He says that she helped him to overcome many of his bad habits, induced him to attend school and to stop his stealing activities. Four months ago Philip impregnated this girl. He desires to marry her. On psychometric it is found that on verbal material he rates as a borderline case; but on performance material he is definitely superior. (On Stanford-Binet he had I.Q. 80. On Bellevue Adult test he had score of 68 on verbal part and 121 on performance part with composite I.Q. of 93.) He is classified as a Conduct Disturbance with sexual delinquency.

Rudolph — a 13 year old white boy sent in by the court as a delinquent and neglected child. His father is psychotic. The boy is below average stature. On the ward he has been observed to have periods of what have been interpreted as depression. He goes off by himself and sits with his head buried in his hands. At such times he refuses to be induced to partake in any of the ward's activities. His I.Q. average, (Stanford-Binet 97). He is classified as a Conduct Disturbance with vagrancy, disobedience, and quarrelsomeness.

The boys are brought into the office and are seated about in an informal manner —

Psychiatrist—"Boys, we are going to talk about sexual problems. All of you know what I mean by that. I'm sure some of you have some questions about these things. Well, you can bring them up now and we'll try to get you straightened out and give you the right information. Does any one have a question?

Lawrence—Say, doc, how do you know you got the syph?

P.—How can a fellow get syphilis?

Philip—You catch syph by doing it to a girl. By laying her.

Rudolph—The pisser gets the syph.

Lawrence—You can catch syph from another boy. By touching him. If he touches his eye he gets blind.

P.—How can you tell when you have syphilis?

John—Syph makes you very sick.

Norman—You get headaches and sweat.

Philip—You can get it by touching a girl's hand or lips.

P.—Any girl's?

Philip—No. Shes gotta have it.

Lawrence—How do you cure the syph? Is it hard to cure?

John—Simon (another patient) had it. He jerked off and he was very skinny. You can get it that way.

P.—Can syphilis be gotten by masturbating?

Philip—Yes, you can get it that way.

Rudolph—If you ain't circumcized and you jerk off and some of the stuff is left you get a disease.

Norman—I'm skinny and weak; and I don't have syph.

John—What Rudolph says is a clap.

Philip—You can get syph that way. You can get it from the air.

P.—Syphilis is usually gotten by having sex relations with someone who has it. All that is necessary for a person to get the disease is for the syphilis bug to get into his body through an opening in the skin. If a fellow ever notices a sore on his penis after he has had sex relations the thing for him to do is to go to a doctor or clinic immediately. Sometimes the sore may heal without treatment; but that doesn't mean that the fellow is cured. Soon after this he may develop a rash with a fever. This may last a few days or so and then clear up. That still wouldn't mean that he's through with his syphilis. If he doesn't get treatment, then years later he may develop other signs of the disease.

The important thing to remember is that syphilis is gotten through sex relations and that the bug must enter through the skin in order for the person to be infected. Another important thing to remember is that syphilis is a disease which can be cured if treatment is gotten right in the beginning. The longer a fellow waits to get treated after he is infected the longer is the period of treatment he'll need.

Rudolf—Why does a girl bleed every month? I think it's to clean herself. New blood gets in and old blood is forced out.

Norman—That's what Kotex is for.

P.—Does any one have any other idea why a girl bleeds? It is called menstruation. That's the same as "monthlies."

John—If a guy keeps on shooting scum in her she has to bleed or her cherry will be broken. It's to take out the old scum.

Norman—She bleeds till she's laid.

P.—Any other ideas? No? Well, what do you know about the woman's eggs? None of you know about that? Well, the woman has two glands, that is, two "balls" like yours—only her's are

called ovaries and they are not outside like yours; but are in her womb. If she gets "knocked up," pregnant, then she doesn't bleed. If she doesn't become pregnant then the egg is washed out with the "monthlies" or menstrual flow.

John—After she has a baby can the eggs come again?

P.—Does anyone know? No? Well, the eggs do start to come again a couple of months after she has the baby and she then again has her periods.

P.—How big is a baby when it's born?

Philip—When a baby is born it's small and when it hits the air it gets bigger.

P.—Is that right?

Lawrence—No. It's that big right away.

P.—How long does it take for the baby to be made from the time the woman becomes pregnant until the baby is born?

Philip—The first time it takes six months. Other babies may take a year or nine months.

Lawrence—I heard it takes nine months.

P.—That's right. Now, how many times does a woman have to have sex relations in order for her to have a baby?

Lawrence—Once is enough.

John—Takes seven or eight times. Have to hit the egg at least twice.

Norman—Needs four times to have a baby.

Philip—It's better if they do it regular. You can have the baby in one shot; but it makes baby stronger if you do it a few times.

P.—Philip is right in saying that only one act of intercourse is necessary. The point is that the male and female sex cells must meet and the egg must be fertilized by the sperm.

Lawrence—Say a fellow knocks up a girl and then another guy lays her; who's the father?

P.—That question often comes up in court. Sometimes you can tell by a blood test; but often you can tell when the second fellow had relations with her after she was already overdue with her period. That would mean the first fellow is the father.

Norman—Does jerking off make you weak?

All—Yes.

Lawrence—It make you crazy if you're used to getting it regular and then miss a week.

John—Sure it makes you weak because scum has vitamins in it.

Norman—I heard you only have so much scum and if you use that up you won't have no more.

John—That ain't right. The food you eat makes more all the time.

Norman—In a clap don't you get pimples?

Lawrence—Your dick runs. The scum runs out.

Philip—It ain't scum. It's blood and when it hits the air it changes.

P.—No. It's pus that runs out—the “clap” is an infection.

Lawrence—If you touch you eye with the stuff, won't you go blind?

P.—You can get a serious infection of the eye that way. How can you get the “clap”?

Lawrence—Catch it as you do the syph.

Norman—Her nerves, her temper may do it. When he don't want to be lad she may give you a clap.

P.—Can any woman give you the ‘clap’?

Philip—If she tightens up on you, you get a clap. She bangs in on you. Closes up. Any girl can do it.

Lawrence—Only a girl with a clap can do it.

Philip—You can give a girl a clap by pressing into her. You can get a clap in three ways—by forcing it into her; if she has it; if she closes up on you.

John—Can get it by drinking from a cup if a girl with it used the cup.

P.—You can only get the “clap”, gonorrhea, by having sex relations with someone who is already infected.

We have presented a sample part of an interview. This material was recorded while the group session was in actual progress.

Although the above data was representative, it was, after all, taken from a single interview with a specific set of patients. It is therefore thought advisable to record briefly some bits from other sessions which may illustrate false notions. For example:

Arthur—(white—15 years—conduct disturbance—truancy, running away) Gonorrhea is a stiff cock. It can't go down.

Donald—(white—13 years—conduct disturbance—neurotic traits) I heard that American men go and f. . . foreigners and get the clap.

Arthur—Scum is from the brain. When you jerk off it comes out.

James—(colored—15 years—borderline I.Q.—conduct disturbance—homosexual trends) if I wanted to know about such things I'd ask my mother.

Donald—A scum-bag is a balloon. You see them in the Hudson River.

James—When you do it too many times you can get the syph.

Donald—You can get syph by smoking.

On the subject of product of semen:—
make it by pumping, by friction. It comes from the bones.

On nutrition of the fetus:—

Robert—The baby gets fed by there's a string from the mother's navel to her tits and so the milk from the tits gets to the navel and from there to the baby.

Jack—(white, 14 years old, schizophrenic?) Her mouth is connected to her naval and the food she eats goes to the navel and from there through a tube to the baby.

In an investigation by Curran and Frosch on the "Body Image Concepts of Adolescents"⁽⁸⁾ the boys studied repeated that there was a definite connection between the size of the penis and the degree of masturbation. White boys would say that negro boys had bigger sex parts because they masturbated more frequently. Sometimes the boys insisted that their small genitals were really evidence of virtue. Nevertheless, of this group of 100 boys revealed that only 22% denied masturbation. Of these 22 cases 15 were colored. There were only 27 colored boys in the entire group. We believe that the reason for this far greater percentage of denial of masturbation on the part of the colored boys may be as follows: It was found that these boys had heterosexual relations at much earlier ages, many since age of 6 or 7 years;—and with much greater frequency than the white boys. A fairly characteristic remark of colored boys would be: "Why should I jerk off? I can get it when I want it." In the same connection we can cite another point of interest, viz.—whenever there is reported any homosexual aggression on the ward it is almost invariably the colored boys who are the active partners. The explanation for this may possibly be found in the fact that there boys had been having regular heterosexual experiences before coming to the hospital. They had not satisfied their sex urges by masturbation. Thus, a closer substitute for intercourse was found in forcing other boys on the ward to play the part of the girl for them. Their sex activity was rather the expression of a strong sex drive than real homosexuality.

With regard to the questions raised by the boys it soon becomes obvious that they have a great interest in learning the details. They

do not content themselves with superficial descriptions and often when they believe that no member of their group has been sufficiently enlightening, they ask the psychiatrist to further clarify the matter.

DISCUSSION

We have presented a collection of data accumulated from an experience of several years. Certain conclusions are suggested. It is evident that much misinformation about sexual matters of even the simplest and most fundamental sort is widely prevalent. The need for enlightenment is immediately apparent. This need is a dual one. A lack of correct sexual knowledge on the part of an individual is not only of importance to that individual and his welfare; but is equally important for society. We might say it takes two to make a sexual bargain. The problems of impregnation and transmission of disease are inextricably bound in relation to the individual's sex knowledge.

Feelings of guilt with their subsequent neurotic traits or behavior disorders, etc., may be predicated upon mistaken ideas concerning sexual practices. Uninformed parental and school attitudes foster these feelings. Many youngsters are strongly cautioned against masturbation and threatened with disease and insanity if they offend in that manner. And, while it is true that many who hear this only partially believe it, even an ambivalent attitude can lead to much difficulty for the individual and indirectly for those about him.

This brings us to an evaluation of our procedure. A threefold approach is necessary. In our opinion, the group sex conferences have value diagnostically, therapeutically, and pedagogically. Concerning the aid to diagnosis we have earlier commented on the contagiousness of frank speech within the group. Boys from whom we would otherwise hear little of sexual experiences, in the group demonstrate by the comments an unsuspected familiarity with certain sex practices. These can later be more thoroughly investigated in detail in an individual session. A factor in the tongue-loosening is competition. Within the group each boy feels he must save face. He cannot afford to be thought of as a "sissy" by the other boys. Thus he is more likely to express his sex ideas—correct or incorrect. Even here, social prestige is an important factor.

Not uncommonly we are able to detect by a particular boy's questions even if not by his actual statements, that he is either sexually

preoccupied, homosexually inclined, or even possibly psychotic. This latter invaluable diagnostic service is explainable as follows—As ward psychiatrists we interview patients individually and do not observe them as often as is desirable as units in a group. This, therefore, is an excellent opportunity for us to study group phenomena. It has been observed that the boys' behavior in groups is much more representative than their behavior during individual interviews. Ability to adjust in the groups on the ward is a good indication of the boys' ability to adjust in the community after discharge. Here he may show a sort of thinking or behavior we had not previously noticed. Thus the group technique may be invaluable in the given instance. A specific social trend may come to light in an individual case, and may operate as an important factor in the patient's difficulties. Equipped with this new knowledge of the boy we are in a better position to help him.

From the therapeutic aspect we have found that the group conferences work in several ways. The diagnosis may be clarified and this may well be of therapeutic significance. Also the particular mechanisms behind specific behavior patterns may come to light and these are then more easily dealt with. The cathartic effect of an opportunity to expound at will on a sexual thesis—within a socially sanctioned setting—and without any concern over the possibility of criticism or punishment is considerable.⁽¹⁰⁾ A particular patient may "get it off his chest" and we have learned in subsequent individual interviews that the boys have felt a new sense of relief. We can better our rapport with the boys by demonstrating openly an uncritical attitude. Thus in later individual interviews, a great advantage is acquired.

Being a participant within a group and learning from and teaching one another is an experience of positive value. A social awareness is stimulated. Each youngster is given the opportunity of realizing that others have problems similar to their own—that they too, whom he may have secretly admired, know little if any more than he about these things. And then, probably of greatest therapeutic value, is the correction of actually and potentially pathogenic misconceptions. Sometimes the boys are so impressed by learning that their worry has been unfounded, that they tag along after the conference and plead for reiteration of the welcome facts and ask to sit in again on future conferences.

As a method of therapy on the ward these group conferences are an adjunct to the various other forms of therapy—some of which have

been previously described.^(8 11 12) The pedagogic value of our method has partially been indicated in the foregoing pages. We believe that the term pedagogy is applicable and should be employed for the reason that this technique can profitably be used with normal adolescents. It is a way of teaching—and, we have learned, an effective one. Surely there is a need for more accurate sex knowledge among pubescents and adolescents.

SUMMARY

1. A description of the technique of group sex discussions as used on the Adolescent Ward of Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital has been described.
2. A verbatim representative excerpt of a group discussion on sex has been presented.
3. The prevalence of sexual misconceptions among adolescents has been noted.
4. The value of this method is threefold. The diagnostic, therapeutic, and pedagogic aspects have been discussed.
5. The applicability of this method for sex instruction of normal adolescents has been indicated.

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A PSYCHO-SOCIAL STUDY OF PRIMITIVE
CONCEPTIONS OF DEATH

FRANK S. CAPRIO, M. D.

Silver Spring, Maryland

The purpose of this paper is to analyze in terms of psycho-social significance, anthropological data pertaining to primitive cultural reactions to death.

One wonders why there exists such a relative paucity of literature dealing with the psychological implications of death. Perhaps this negligence in the scientific investigation of death as related to its conscious and unconscious effect on human behavior, can be attributed to what Freud would call "cultural resistance." Just as we have resisted the psychoanalytic interpretation of our sexual repressions, we have a tendency to repress anything that constitutes a "painful reality," as for instance, the "certainty and inevitability of death." The fact that we like to avoid all unnecessary references to death because of its unpleasantness is evidence of our extreme sensitiveness on the subject. It is one of the author's hypothetical contentions that the psychopathology of civilization is the reaction and result of man's failure to repress successfully the same "unconscious fear of death" which was common to primitive cultures.

INTRODUCTION

Death, the antithesis of life, is a universal phenomenon common to man, animals and plants. Life and death are the two great factors in the symbolic-equation of our existence. Everything that lives must eventually die. It gains particular significance among human beings because they are the only branch that has knowledge of forthcoming death and this knowledge profoundly influences all of our behavior. But just what role this law of "life and death" plays in the psychology of human behavior has long been a matter of philosophical speculation. It has contended for example, that death and not life is the center of our existence. That around this ghastly figure, like around the hub of a wheel, revolve

all our problems; that our existence, bounded by birth and death, is limited and the end inevitable; that life therefore, cannot be risked and because of this it at once gains and loses its zest, creating many emotional problems.

Many and vigorous have been man's attempts to circumvent the consciousness and the inevitability of death. Religion is only one of the many, albeit the most universal. The unpleasant realization that man was "born to die" that his span of life was limited made him turn to a philosophy of generalized abstractions, which spoke of this life as a temporal existence and promised him a happy "hereafter." This, however, was all at the conscious level. Unconsciously he found himself the victim of a life-long conflict between Fear on the one hand and Faith on the other. He attempted to repress, rationalize and sublimate this internal conflict. He realizes, too, that the certainty and inevitability of his death is a proven fact, but that his belief in immortality is unproven—a wishful rationalization based on faith. To quote John Cowper:

"Religion is the life-urge concentrated upon the mystery behind life."

Using as a criteria, the Freudian hypothesis, that the extent of neuroticism is related to the amount of repression, we might submit that man has become more neurotic as the years went by because of his augmented attempt to repress his unconscious fear of death. Whenever this neurosis or neurotic conflict developed into a state of mass-hysteria, a panic-reaction provoked by a fear of insecurity and death, war served as an outlet for this accumulated repression.

Death is not, as so many of us are inclined to believe, the end of physical existence or the natural termination of senescence. On the contrary, it is a slow continuous life-long process, beginning from the moment we are born and culminating when the disintegration processes gain completely over those of assimilations. What we call death, is in reality, the end result of a number of processes, partly physiologic, partly pathologic, in nature that have been going on in us for years (abirotrophy). In our struggle for existence we tried to attain longevity by surviving such "death-threats" as illness, accident, poverty, war, etc. While in the physical sense death is defined as the cessation of all vital phenomena without capability of resuscitation, there is such a thing also as "a slow psychic death" brought on by emotional frustra-

tion which influences the onset of physical death. Nervous and mental disorders may be regarded as forms of psychic deaths. It is this everlasting environmental threat to our instinct of self-preservation resulting in a fear of insecurity which inspires the overt expression of man's destructive impulses through suicide, crime and war.

This fear of insecurity and uncertainty is illuminatingly and accurately described in the following passage of Joseph Ratner's introduction to John Dewey's philosophy:

"All human beings are implicated in the hazards and uncertainties of existence. And all human beings have been at least sufficiently practical, sufficiently motivated by mundane desire to want to eliminate hazard and uncertainty from life and to enjoy a state that is safe and sure. Since this objective can never be attained with absolute perfection in this world, the royal road that has time and again been sought by all peoples is the road of imagining another world wherein none of the hardships, and at least all of the delights of this world are to be found and perpetually to be enjoyed."

In neurotic illness and abnormal psychic states, recent investigations show the existence of this preoccupation with the problem of death. This tends to support the concept that man, tortured by his fear of death, dies a thousand times before his death. As Will Durant would say: "To die more deaths than one in order to live more lives."

Death was evidently a source of great frustration among primitive cultures. These early "ambivalent" attitudes toward death was influenced by social and cultural factors.

From an analytic study of these primitive reactions to death we can better understand the origin of some of our attitudes. It also creates an interesting problem for research in social psychology, namely: "Is the fear of death and the wish for immortality the common denominator of all behavior-reactions?"

LEGENDARY ORIGIN OF DEATH

There are many legends and myths that attempt to explain the fascinating beginning of mortality among human beings. The Bible in the story of Genesis infers that man became "mortal" when he disobeyed the Divine Command by partaking of the fruit of the Forbidden Tree.

Roheim, in his article entitled "The Garden of Eden" published in the January 1940 issue of the *Psychoanalytic Review*, interprets this biblical narrative, as implying that work such as "tilling the soil" was evidently man's punishment for his disobedience and that pain through childbirth was the fate of all women for having participated in the original sin. From this Biblical story of the origin of death, we might infer that the snake was a symbol or agent of death, since it was responsible for man's deception and disobedience, causing him to become mortal. It is not too far fetched to assume that our fear of snakes represents an unconscious fear of death. This might seem contrary to the Freudian idea of the snake representing in dream life, a sexual or phallic symbol. But an object may be a symbol of many things and it by no means denies that while a snake is often a sexual symbol, it may also serve as a symbol of other things, viz. evil. Again two factors in plural symbolism may not be so far removed from each other. Thus, to many sex is a symbol of evil and the phallus or a sexual organ may also symbolize evil. To many the snake still conveys the implication of deception—a hidden threat. Our common expression that such and such a person is literally a "snake in the grass" is surviving evidence of this repulsive fear of being deceived. Today we have many superstitious beliefs concerning snakes which are associated with death. The shedding of a serpent's outer covering is considered a form or attempt at re-birth. Many believe that you cannot kill a snake outright, that it will not die until sundown. The added fact that some snakes are deadly and capable of producing instant death further emphasizes the death symbolism of the snake.

MYTHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

A myth similar to the Biblical story in Genesis existed among the Bataks of the Philippines. Death was attributed to God's curse for an act of disobedience.

Early savages firmly believed that "witchcraft" had caused the first death. A survival of this primitive belief was found among the early Mission Indians of California, who considered it the solemn duty of their medicine men to communicate with the spirit world and discover who among the tribe was the responsible "witch." He would then be burned alive together with his family and all of his possessions. Witches who cast an evil glance upon sick members of the tribe were burned alive because they were considered the culprits for having caused death.

While travelling through Europe in 1937, the author conversed with groups of individuals who claimed that a "malicious glance" could cast a curse or spell powerful enough to cause the death of another person. The term "mal occhio" literally means "bad eye" and is used even today to refer to "bad luck" caused by an "evil" person.

A primitive tribe known as the "Arunta" was convinced that before the moon came into being, a man had died and was buried. He was reincarnated as a boy. People who saw him, ran from him in fear, despite his imploring them to come back. He warned them that if they fled, they would become mortal while he would remain immortal as the moon in the sky. That is the reason presumably that the moon comes and goes. It rhythmically dies and disappears and then comes to life again.

The moon incidentally has also been mythologically associated with psychotic disorders. As we know, the word "lunatic" is derived from the latin word "luna" meaning moon which was used in connection with people who were "moon-struck." Persons who made love in the moonlight became absent-minded which was interpreted as a mild form of insanity.

Attendants working in mental institutions have been known to say patients become more acutely disturbed whenever there was a full moon out.

These legendary concepts and myths as to the origin of death have now been discarded. It is interesting, however, to note how many of our superstitions can be traced to beliefs common to primitive civilization. Today, we think death is caused by disease, accidents, old age, etc. But there are many who believe that death is caused by the Will or Wrath of God. This alone is proof of man's ambivalence toward religion arising out of an unconscious conflict between Fear and Faith.

Primitive fears and superstitions have also come down to us in the form of death wishes. In psychoanalytic literature we have numerous examples of neurotic illness involving the relationship of guilt to aggression and transgression.

The author recalls the case of a young woman who nursed a secret love for a married man who lived next door to her. This 27 year old girl admitted that for six months she hoped that this man's wife would die. Cancer finally caused the wife's death. After winning over the

affections of the neighbor, she succeeded in getting him to marry her. Several months later she began to develop an acute feeling of anxiety that she would die of a heart attack. It was during her analysis that she admitted strong feelings of guilt, associated with the obsession that she (omnipotence of thought) caused the death of her husband's first wife.

These same feelings of guilt are often found among surviving relatives who suffer from "obsessive reproaches," holding themselves responsible for the death of their beloved one. They usually resort to a very melodramatic display of grief at the time of the funeral. Unconsciously they are attempting to disguise or atone for their feelings of guilt.

EARLIEST DEATH CUSTOMS

Burying the dead in caves was a practice carried out by the neolithic people. These same caves were inhabited in pre-historic times by the paleolithic races. As far back as the neolithic age the dead were buried in "rudely constructed stone chambers." This same custom rapidly spread over the whole of Western Europe from the Mediterranean to the south of Scandinavia.

It was during this neolithic period also that a link became established between the dead and the spirit world.

Tylor describes man's beginning preoccupation with physical and psychic experiences as for instance, dreams, hallucinations and various trances which led to the idea of "spirits, souls and ghosts." The belief in a system of inter-communication between mankind and the spirit world is evidenced in sepulchral remains. It was a custom for example to include in the tomb of someone who died, his weapons and ornaments.

According to the beliefs of primitive groups the soul was thought to be contained in man's breath. When one spoke of a person's "last breath" the savages thought that there escaped from the dead a something capable of a separate existence, known as the "soul."

Regarding tombstones, the following passage is evidence of man's attempt to over-compensate for his death-frustration, by constructing memorials symbolic of "physical immortality"—as if to say; "The human body may decay but this pyramid or tombstone will stand forever as a "living monument."

"They did not regard life beyond the grave as differing widely from that on earth. To them death was the portal to the community of departed heroes and friends, to which they looked forward across the span of human life with hopeful anticipation of a more perfect state of existence. Hence, the abodes of the dead were considered of greater importance than those of the living. Constructed of the most durable material, and generally placed on a commanding eminence, so as to be seen from afar, the tomb became an enduring memorial for many generations, till eventually its actual purpose and meaning became lost amidst the changing vistas of succeeding ages. One of the last common and effective methods of perpetuating the memory of the dead was by rearing a mound of stones or earth over the grave. To this custom we owe some of the grandest monuments in the world's history, the Pyramids of Egypt, the Topes of India and other rude stone monuments." (Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Scribners).

We see numerous examples of this primitive wish for petrified immortality on modern culture in our Washington Monument, The Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials, in our Nation's Capitol, Grant's tomb in New York City, etc.

The most symbolic are the giant heads of Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and Roosevelt sculptured from the side of a mountain. They represent man's attempt to overcompensate for "body disintegration"—a form of artificial immortality.

It was toward the end of the stone age that the practice of cremation originated in Eastern lands and spread westwards reaching the British Isles. This primitive custom was based on the conviction that the flames carried with them the soul of the dead to heaven. Cremation did not come into existence as a matter of convenience, as some of us are now inclined to believe, but developed out of ideas concerning the properties of fire.

That life can never be utterly destroyed but merely transformed into another state of matter is borne out in the ancient Vedic address to the body of the pyre:

"Let the eye go to the sun, the breath to the air. Go to the sky and to the earth according to fitness; go to the waters. If it is pleasing to thee, there abide in plants with thy limbs."

We might evaluate this chemical philosophy as a consoling rationalization—the belief that we eventually become absorbed into the physical immortality of the universe.

A friend of the author informed him that it was her husband's wish that his ashes be strewn from a certain panoramic location in Mt. Glacier National Park—that he wished to return and become part of the "immortal" beauty of his favorite vacation spot.

These early death attitudes can be found in our own culture, hence they are not too distantly related to the ancient Vedic customs quoted above.

With the gradual increase in population, common burying grounds or cemeteries for the disposal of the dead were provided in various localities through the efforts of religion, which was becoming a dominant influence in the social structure of early civilization.

Many death customs were associated with the idea of rebirth. The common custom of burying with knees drawn up in the "fetal position" can be traced to ancient Egypt and Peru. This custom is as old as the Cro-Magnon race. It is interesting for example to note that there exists a correlation between anointing the new born with oil and inunction of a dead body with oil, a practice which was common to primitive culture.

Burial in the ground symbolized a return to "seed" a regression to intrauterine life-maternal earth. The whole idea of interment which began in paleolithic times is explained on the basis that the body is planted in the earth like a seed for rebirth.

The author visited an old cemetery in Europe and was astonished to learn from the keeper that it was a custom for some of the relatives to dig up the remains of the dead after so many years, crowd all the bones into a small wooden box and then "plant" the box as you would a small tree.

Burial rites are governed by specific attitudes toward death, the corpse, and immortality.

The object of wailing, drum beating, stone clinking and brass rattling was to drive away the ghosts, and ward off the evil effects which the spirits of the deceased might have upon the living. They respected the dead for fear that the ghosts would return to haunt them if they did otherwise. Our own veneration and profound respect of the dead may be a disguised expression of the same fear of the dead person's "spirit."

We are all familiar with the dictum "de mortibus nihil nisi bene." Perhaps by identification, we too do not wish to be judged after death.

Frazier claims that the attentions bestowed upon the dead by primitive peoples was not a manifestation of affection but arose from a sense of fear.

The custom of mourning was to show the public that a state of grief exists.

While it is true that death is accompanied by grief among most cultures, there are a few exceptions. Klineberg tells us that among certain groups of Siberian natives, Eskimos and Fiji Islanders, death is an occasion of rejoicing. They consider life as a prelude to an everlasting life and that they will possess the physical and spiritual characteristics with which they leave this one. They do not desire longevity as they will forever remain decrepit and old. As a result a son considers it a duty to kill his parents.

In Africa, death is attributed to the evil doings of magicians from hostile tribes or the malicious act of a neighbor. It is inconceivable that a person should die of natural causes.

In Egypt the purpose of mummification was to "ensure continued existence after death by preserving the flesh as well as the bones."

FEAR OF THE DEAD

In "Totem and Taboo," (Freud) we learn that among the Maori, anyone who touches a corpse becomes unclean and is socially ostracized to the extent of not being able to enter another's house or touch his food with his own hands. Instead, his food is placed on the ground and he has to eat by bending over and reaching the food with his lips and teeth. After a designated length of time has elapsed he is allowed to mingle once more with his fellow beings. If one touched the corpse of a dead chieftain for example, he was considered unclean for ten months. This may be constructed as further evidence of primitive associations of fear with death.

It is the custom of the Agutainoos inhabiting one of the Philippine Islands for a widow to remain in her hut for a period of eight days following the death of her husband. It is believed that anyone who sees her during that time will die immediately. As a result she gives warning of her approach by hitting trees with a wooden stick.

Another widespread custom of taboo pertains to the prohibition against mentioning the name of the deceased. The Mosai in Africa generally change the name of the deceased immediately after his death, assuming that the ghost is not acquainted with the new name.

There are people today who take on a new name during the critical phase of a serious illness. Their new name is to bring them "luck" and keep them from dying. A patient informed the author that she had been given seven names in the course of a pneumonia crisis.

We still have remnants of this atavistic taboo on names. There are some who, for instance, never mention the name of a deceased relative without the prefix "Bon Anima" meaning "Good Soul." This was not only a sign of respect for the dead but also an unconscious fear of the consequences if one were to forget.

The explanation of this prohibition of names lies in the fear that the spirit of the dead person might return. As Wundt expressed it, the survivors suffer from a fear, "of the soul now turned into a demon."

According to Westermarck, the dead are looked upon as enemies who spread illness, death, and other evils.

We learn from Klempaul that the living protected themselves against the persecutions of the dead by burying the dead on the other side of a river. The corpse was considered an evil spirit, a vampire who bore ill-will towards the living.

Westermarck claims that the deceased was vindictive for having died against his wishes, and envied the living. He goes on to say that "malevolence ascribed to souls lies in the instinctive fear of them which is itself the result of the fear of death."

Freud explains this demonism of the dead by attributing it to the mechanism of "projection." The survivor will not admit that he has entertained dead wishes against the beloved deceased. But now the soul of the deceased entertains them and becomes vindictive during the period of mourning. Even a natural death is looked upon as murder, the person having been murdered by evil wishes. The hostility towards the dead is motivated as self-defence. Mourning becomes an emotional reaction of remorse, punishment and fear.

Freud has found in the interpretation of dreams dealing with the death of parents, brothers or sisters, this same feeling of ambivalence equivalent to the attitude of savages toward the dead.

SUICIDE

Attitudes toward suicide are culturally determined. A strange custom among primitives was that of burying suicides at cross roads designed to mislead the ghost who would not know which way to return.

Suicide and religion are closely associated as evidence from the following information:

"It is a well known fact that religious suicides are occasionally committed by the Hindus under a vow to some deity. They starve themselves to death, eat poison, drown themselves. Religious suicide may be resorted to in case of an emergency. If a Hindu contracts a mortal disease or is otherwise in danger of certain death, he may have resource to self-starvation."

The Kajans of Borneo believed that the spirits of suicides remain wretched.

Today we find the disapproval of suicide in the Catholic religion to the extent that a suicide is not permitted burial in a Catholic cemetery and the body is not brought into the church for services.

DEATH AND MENTAL ILLNESS

It is interesting to observe that both death and psychotic disorders were attributed to a common cause, namely the work of demons. The correlation between the two may account for our present theoretical conception of psychoses as forms of "living death," particularly referring to catatonic stupor phases of schizophrenic illness. The patient is literally "dead" to the world.

There may be some connection between a "fear of insanity" and an unconscious "fear of death." This would make the suicidal theory of neurotic and psychotic illness valid—that nervous and mental breakdowns are "wishful" and deliberate forms of illnesses (escape mechanisms). One finds the element of death in the hallucinations and delusions which mental patients entertain, such as phantasies of rebirth, of having died and having been born into an "afterworld." They die in a world which represents to them—frustration, discipline, censure, responsibility—a competitive struggle for existence, and psychologically resurrect themselves into a world of their own, one in which they can release their inhibitions and express themselves in action and speech, as they please. It would seem plausible, therefore, that a psychoanalytic

study of primitive culture reactions to death, might yield a clue or two which might open new avenues of research into the unconscious etiological mechanism behind mental illness, and crime.

SUMMARY

As a synthesis of this anthropological data on death, we might enumerate our conclusions or impressions as follows:

1. A fear of death seems to have been a trend inherent among primitive cultures.
2. The apparent indifference of modern culture to death is only an expression of "repression." In reality we are concerned with the problem of death as evidenced by our attitude towards the dead by rationalizing death as a biological necessity, enabling it or minimizing its significance; by our dream life; by our attitude towards fiction and drama; by spiritualization of life and belief in immortality; and by procreation which insures the immortality of the individual through the race.
3. Many of our present day superstitions and fears can be considered atavistic residuals or remnants of primitive attitudes towards the dead; (fear of the corpse, fear of walking through cemeteries at night, fear of ghosts, belief in spiritualism, voodooism, etc.).
4. Death customs and attitudes toward death, crime, suicide and immortality are culturally determined.
5. The "idea of rebirth" in connection with death common to primitive peoples has survived modern culture through our faith and belief in immortality.
6. A fear of an "Unknown Power" existed among primitive cultures. This same fear accounts for our present ambivalence towards our Creator. We know this fear as a defensive mechanism is one of the main causes of a neurosis. To quote Karen Horney:
"A neurosis is a psychic disturbance brought about by fears and by attempts to find compromise solutions for conflicting tendencies."
7. At the unconscious level man never dies. His "will to immortality" a wishful rationalization, inspires him to challenge the conscious mortality of his flesh.

8. The identification of certain forms of psychoses (catatonic stupor) with death, justifies the need for research into the role which death plays in the psychogenesis of mental illness. Jelliffe, as a matter of fact, attributes the curative effects of "shock treatment" to a "death-threat." Associated with the death motive, there is always present in mental patients rebirth phantasies, as seen from ideas of going to heaven or having been in heaven and hearing beautiful music, of having been in a dark hole and the like. The idea of stupor appears thus to be closely related if not fundamentally, with ideas found in mythology.

9. The dread of death is based less on the fear of future existence as on the fear of suffering accompanying death. The latter has little basis and is not in accord with the physician's experience. It is maintained that it is the consciousness of being no longer alive and the jealousy which we entertain towards those that remain alive that is at the basis of our emotional attitude towards death.

10. The will to immortality has been universal among most cultures and has constituted the basic foundation of the majority of religions.

11. A longing for death or willingness to die, conscious or unconscious, suicide, is a rationalization for having outlived our usefulness and capacity for physical enjoyment. This resignation with equanimity serves a therapeutic purpose insofar as it mitigates our dread of death, death being accepted as a welcome rest after a long fatigue.

12. With a few exceptions, primitive attitudes of disapproval of suicide, have survived modern culture.

13. On certain occasions of mental and emotional stress, fear of death or seeking it forms an avenue of escape from the problems of life; as in anxiety and depression. Anxiety appears to be expressive of fear of death as a punishment for a guilty conscience because of cultural transgressions. In depression, death is often sought as an escape from the difficulties of existence.

14. The fear of death and the wish for immortality constitute essential reactions of all human beings. As the fear of death has little justification, so does the belief in immortality which, whatever rationalizations or forms it may assume, is but a part or vestige of religion.

15. Anthropological cultural reactions to death have been influenced by such unconscious dynamic psychoanalytic mechanisms as regression, projection, repression and rationalization.

16. Gifts and sacrifices to the dead followed by ritual acts of respect may be construed as over-compensation for a fear of the supernatural powers of the deceased.

17. Procreation which was originally biologic, appeared as a compensatory device designed to circumvent the idea of death, but insuring us a certain immortality. It is because of this that the marriage system has survived and one may say will survive, in spite of its many pitfalls and shortcomings. Through reproduction the individual continues himself indefinitely into the race; that is he becomes immortal.

18. Taboo has grown out of the soil of an ambivalent emotional attitude. The Taboo of the dead originates from the opposition between the conscious grief and the unconscious satisfaction at death. If this is the origin of the resentment of spirits it is self-evident that just the nearest and formerly most beloved survivors have to fear it most." (Freud p. 103, Totem and Taboo).

19. Regarding this same concept of Freud, Margaret Mead advances the following hypothesis:

(1) *"Granting the presence of an ambivalent attitude towards the dead, especially towards those individuals with whom we have been in intimate contact, which aspect of this ambivalent attitude will be the dominant and conscious one and which aspect will be forced to keep out of sight and only express itself indirectly, is a foundation of civilization in which an individual lives.*

(2) *"It is possible to find a cultural solution of these conflicting attitudes which may obviate the need of suppressing either one."*

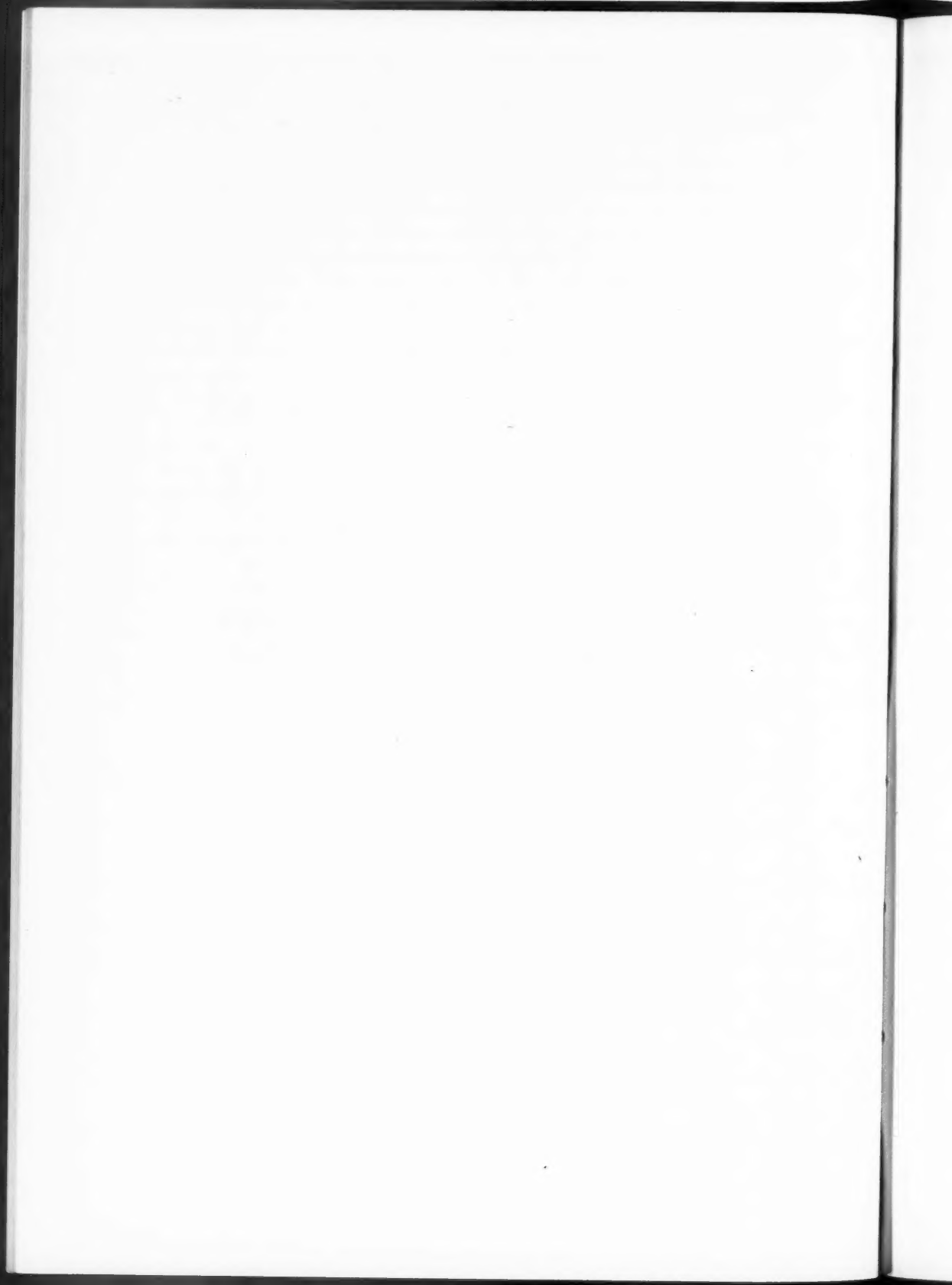
20. It is hoped that this paper will stimulate a further investigation of the relationship of death to normal and abnormal behavior. As a basis or justification for further research we might propose the following questions:

(1) Is man's behavior-reaction a projection of his unresolved conflict between Fear and Faith—a "will to live" versus the painful reality of having been "born to die." If so, how successful does our "will to immortality" serve as a psychotherapeutic agent or peace-maker between these two conflicting forces.

(2) Is the psychological explanation of war to be found in a study of anthropological behavior-reactions or primitive cultures? Does war represent an atavistic regression to prehistoric barbarism, based on our inherent primitive fear of death—a projection, unconsciously suicidal of man's ambivalence toward his Creator for having been "born to die."

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PERFORMANCE OF PSYCHOPATHIC DEFECTIVE CRIMINALS ON THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

SAMUEL B. KUTASH

Woodbourne, N. Y.

I. INTRODUCTION

The construction of fantasies in response to stimulatory pictures provides a relatively new and promising method for the study of personality. This projective technique has already proven particularly valuable in the study of atypical groups of subjects such as neurotic and psychotic patients. In contrast to the ubiquitous questionnaire and self-rating procedures, the various standardized personality tests, and the direct clinical interview, it enables the clinician to get away from static descriptive characteristics like neurotic tendency, self-sufficiency, introversion-extroversion, dominance-submission, emotionality, *et al*, and to reveal latent strivings, images, and sentiments which the subject would be *unwilling* or *unable* to express in a direct communication. By penetrating somewhat below the peripheral overt personality, the *intrapyschic conflicts* which form the hidden, inner motivations of much of the individual's overt behavior can be clearly revealed and interpreted from the stories elicited through projective technique.

Freud⁽¹⁾ defines projection as a special psychic mechanism used to settle an emotional conflict whereby a complex or reaction tendency of which the individual is ignorant and of which he does not wish to know and which is involved in that conflict is displaced from his inner perception into the outer world and thereby detached from the individual and attributed to another. The reaction tendency is disowned and then seen as a property of another individual. The individual's desire to perform counter to the dictates of his mores is seen by him in actions of others. He does not recognize these desires in himself. He is unable to have such desires and still remain the person he is supposed to be. He therefore *projects* these inner desires.

Such projection is a capacity which most human beings possess and which is particularly marked in psychopathic persons. They tend to

project their own faults onto others. They thus use projection as a special psychic mechanism which affords temporary relief in settling their intra-psychic conflicts. The study reported in the present paper utilizes projection elicited by pictures to give insight into the "inner personality" of a group of psychopathic criminals who are also feeble-minded.

The *criminal psychopath* is usually particularly loath to reveal himself to the psychologist or psychiatrist whom he regards as part of the repressive, administrative machinery of the prison. He unconsciously and in some cases consciously attempts to shield his inner thoughts and feelings of guilt and aggression, etc. from the observer by *projecting* these feelings on to others, rationalizing his own failures and misdeeds, repressing painful material, and providing an almost impenetrable barrier to those who strive to understand and rehabilitate him. His *projective defense mechanisms* become the dominant veneer which, while incrusting and plating his personality, at the same time becomes a medium through which he can be reached by the skillful clinician. His inherent apperceptive qualities, which overshadow his real personality, render it extremely difficult for him to adjust to society because of his eventual inability to prevent his private fantasies from infringing too potently on his conceptions of reality. Unconsciously he seeks after punishment and external discipline which would correct his inner distorted perspectives and thus provides a gauge of the extent of his social maladjustment and his possibilities for rehabilitation.

Thus, in direct clinical observation and examination, the psychologist or psychiatrist is confronted with the external personality, the portrait of himself which the delinquent presents to what he considers to be a hostile world, and which is pervaded by the mechanisms of deception, rationalization, circumlocution, evasion, etc. so characteristic of the psychopathic make-up. To invade the *private universe* of such an individual requires an indirect approach which makes use of a potent representative of the psychopath's coterie of defense mechanisms—that of projection. Such an approach is provided by the use of projective techniques and particularly the Thematic Apperception Test devised at the Harvard Psychological Clinic which was adapted for us in this study.

Another type of subject, difficult to study by most traditional methods of personality investigation, is the *mental defective* or feeble-minded individual. His intellectual limitations make him *unable* to verbalize

freely in direct interview or to respond adequately to questionnaires and rating scales. He is thus incapable of exposing his intra-psychic conflicts and the psychodynamics of his personality. Projective techniques provide a ready means of tapping the latent private fantasies of the feeble-minded as has clearly been demonstrated by the intensive research on the application of the Rorschach method to this group of individuals. While the defective has always been considered weak in imagination and impoverished in fantasy, he *can* relate stories to simple pictures and thus provide material for the clinician to interpret. He often displays, as will be brought out by the results of the present study, a marked number of intra-psychic conflicts (although on an emotionally impoverished level), which most observers had assumed did not exist because the defective could not reveal them readily.

The present research results from the author's efforts, as psychologist in an institution for defective delinquents, to deal with a population which is both criminally psychopathic and feeble-minded and to correctly evaluate their personality structure from the point of view of uncovering material of dynamic and etiological significance such as goals, values, traumata, intra-psychic conflicts and complexes. The Thematic Apperception Test, as will be demonstrated, proved to be a valuable and effective instrument towards these ends.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE TECHNIQUE

The Thematic Apperception Test was designed and applied by Morgan and Murray⁽²⁾ who found it promising for interpretive purposes. The subject who is told that his imagination is being studied, is shown a series of 20 pictures and is asked to make up a story for each picture, to infer what has happened before and what is now happening in the picture, to say what the people in the picture are feeling and thinking, and to tell what the result will be. Theoretically, the narrator unconsciously *projects* into the stories material, which on proper analysis, furnishes clues to his underlying personality structure.

The first 10 pictures furnished the standard series and the second 10 can be given at the examiner's discretion. The complete directions and procedures for administration and interpretation are outlined in the latest set of Directions for the Thematic Apperception Test published by the Harvard Psychological Clinic where the method originated.⁽³⁾ Its application to concrete cases is illustrated by the works of Murray,⁽⁴⁾ Harrison,⁽⁵⁾ and others^{(6) (7) (8)}. The present study utilized the first 10

standard pictures for males and the initial 5 of the discretionary series and these were administered to 60 adult male *psychopathic defectives*. They had all been diagnosed by psychiatric examination as psychopathic personalities and they were all feeble-minded with Intelligence Quotients of 70 or below on the Stanford-Binet Tests. Their crimes covered all types, acquisitive, assaultive, sexual, arson, vagrancy, etc. In administering the test, Form B,⁽³⁾ designed for the general population, was used.

III. THE PICTURES

The authors describe the pictures as follows:

1. A young boy contemplating a violin which rests on a table in front of him.
2. Country scene: in the foreground is a young woman with books in her hand; in the background a man is working in the fields and an older woman is looking on.
3. A short elderly woman stands with her back turned to a tall young man. The latter is looking downward with a perplexed expression.
4. The silhouette of a man's figure against a bright window. The rest of the picture is totally dark.
5. A young woman's head against a man's shoulder.
6. On the floor against a couch is the huddled form of a boy with his head bowed on his right arm. Beside him on the floor is a revolver.
7. Two nude standing figures of a young man and a young woman. The woman rests her head on the man's shoulder. Beside them stands a draped woman with a baby in her arms.
8. A gray haired man is looking at a young man who is sullenly staring into space.
9. A man helplessly clutched from behind by three hands. The figures of his antagonists are invisible.
10. A slender young man looks straight out of the picture. The barrel of a rifle is visible at one side, and in the background are dim dream-like figures suggesting a surgical operation.
11. A young man and a young woman; her hands are clutching his shoulders, and his head is turned away.
12. A young man lying on a couch with his eyes closed. Sitting beside the couch is an elderly man leaning forward with one hand raised above the forehead of the reclining figure.
13. Blank card.

14. Head and shoulders of a man with upraised arm and mouth open as if shouting.
15. A gaunt man with clenched hands standing among grave-stones.

IV. NATURE AND METHOD OF CLASSIFICATION OF THE MATERIAL ELICITED

Each story was broken down into "responses," each response representing a thought whole or statement of dynamic significance capable of being interpreted independently in the manner of Rorschach responses. Thus, a given story could contain anywhere from one to nine responses depending upon the *stimulus value* of the picture for the individual examinee. Each response was classified in terms of the *intrapyschic* conflict which gave expression to it, the *inner motivation* for the response, the *goal* or *drive* which the response represented, or a possible *complex* or *trauma* to which the response is a clue.

From the 60 subjects examined, a total of 2,405 responses were elicited or an average of 40.08 responses per subject for the entire series of 15 pictures. This represented an average of 2.67 responses per picture per inmate and indicates the quantity of phantasy material elicited. Table 1 gives the *stimulus value* of each individual picture as shown by the number of responses elicited per picture. It can readily be seen that the pictures rank in order of stimulus value with the most stimulatory picture first as follows: III, XI, V, VI, X, VIII, VII, II, I, IX, XIII, IV, XV, XIV.

TABLE I
STIMULUS VALUE OF PICTURES AS SHOWN BY 60 CASES
Number of Responses per Picture — Frequencies

	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	TOT.	MEAN
I	12	25	10	8	5	0	0	0	0	149	2.48
II	21	12	9	11	5	2	0	0	0	153	2.55
III	2	18	11	6	17	4	2	0	0	218	3.63
IV	25	10	16	5	4	0	0	0	0	133	2.22
V	8	18	12	10	8	0	4	0	0	188	3.13
VI	6	17	12	13	6	5	0	0	0	188	3.13
VII	12	23	10	12	0	3	0	0	0	154	2.57
VIII	11	19	15	8	5	1	0	0	1	166	2.77
IX	14	23	12	6	4	0	0	1	0	148	2.47
X	8	14	22	3	8	5	0	0	0	184	3.07
XI	6	13	16	15	4	3	0	3	0	202	3.37
XII	10	15	28	5	2	0	0	0	0	154	2.57
XIII	18	24	9	4	4	1	0	0	0	135	2.25
XIV	29	17	7	5	2	0	0	0	0	114	1.90
XV	24	16	18	1	1	0	0	0	0	119	1.98
Total	206	264	207	112	75	24	6	4	1	2405	

Total Number of Responses 2,405

Average No. per Individual 40.08 for all pictures.

Average No. per Individual 2.67 per picture

V. A TYPICAL PROTOCOL

To illustrate the method of breaking the stories down into responses and classifying them, an actual protocol is presented below:

No. 221, John D.

Picture Number	Response Number	Story Content	Classification of Responses in Italics
I	1	There's a boy. He wishes he could be a great violin player some day. He is is thinking of his great chance to become that.	<i>Ambition (Future)</i>
	2	He will make people happy and be a joy to his people by his good playing.	<i>Desire to Help Others</i>
II	1.	There's a farmhouse. A man and horse ready to plow. A girl is standing with books in her hand.	<i>Description</i>

- 2 She is standing and thinking about leaving the farm to make something of herself. *Ambition (Future)*
- 3 The other woman is worrying about her son who left the farm and became a bum. *Anxiety (Separation)*
- 4 He got framed up and put in jail. She is worried.
. *Crime and Imprisonment.*

III

- 1 A mother and son mad at each other.
. *Mother-Son Conflict*
- 2 Mother's heartbroken and sad. She is disgusted and feels like crying. *Sorrow*
- 3 The son feels like a heel 'cause he hurt her and is always causing her trouble. *Guilt Feeling Re: Mother*
- 4 I think the son is going away and they are both worried whether they'll see each other again. . *Separation Anxiety*
- 5 He will go away and will get in trouble without listening to his mother who loves him and he'll be punished.
. *Unconscious Desire for Punishment*

IV

- 1 That guy is going to commit suicide by jumping out of the window. *Suicide*
- 2 He was feeling disgusted and sad *Despair*
- 3 being away from home in a furnished room someplace all by himself—no job—no friends. *Separation Anxiety*
- 4 He was foolish to leave home and not listen to his people. It's his own fault. *Guilt Feelings*

V

- 1 The guy feels sorry for what he done and
. *Remorse (Guilt Feelings)*
- 2 he is trying to ask his father for another chance.
. *Desire for Help*
- 3 He will promise him that he will go straight and not get in no trouble no more *Desire to Reform (future)*
- 4 The father forgives him and gives him his blessing and they are very happy.
. . . *Conflict Involving Family Relationships*

VI

- 1 The guy is crying 'cause he cannot get a job.
. *Sorrow or Despair*
- 2 Everytime they turn him down when he asks for work.
. *Frustration*

- 4 She won't be able to stop him and he'll shoot a guy and get in jail, be punished and then he'll see he done wrong too late. *Desire for Punishment*
- XII 1 This guy laying down is very sick, he's dying and
 *Sickness*
 2 the priest is giving him his last rites. He is praying.
 *Prayer*
 3 He is dead' cause he ain't breathing. *Death*
- The following is a blank card. If the man said it was, he was told to imagine any picture he liked and to make up a story.
- XIII 1 This is a blank card. Nothing to it. *Void*
 2 A picture with my mother on it. I would be glad to see it. I done her so much wrong and made her sick with worrying *Guilt Feeling Re: Mother*
 3 I'm so helpless. I can't make it up to her 'cause I'm here in this jail. *Frustration*
- XIV 1 This guy is falling off something. *Anxiety*
 2 Maybe he is crazy and is off his nut. *Insanity*
- XV 1 This guy is standing in a cemetery. *Description*
 2 He's praying over a grave. *Prayer*
 3 Maybe it's his father who died from sorrow over him and he's praying for his soul. *Death of Father (Fantasy)*

SUMMARY 51 Responses

Guilt Feelings (Punishment)	11	Nudity Shock	1
Ambition (Future)	4	Rejection of Picture	1
Conflicts Inv. Family Rel.	4	Father and Son Relation	1
Anxiety (Separation)	4	Murder	1
Sorrow or Despair	3	Anger	1
Assault, Aggression	3	Desire to Help Others	1
Frustration	2	Crime and Imprisonment	1
Suicide	2	Desire for Help	1
Death	2	Sickness	1
Description	2	Void	1
Prayer	2	Insanity	1
Paranoia	1		

VI. A BRIEF INTERPRETATION OF THE PROTOCOL

It is readily apparent that we are dealing with a highly unstable individual whose phantasy life gives expression to potent and dynamic intra-psychic conflicts of a highly complex nature involving strong feelings of guilt and unconscious desire for punishment. Most of the guilt phantasies center around the mother or father. There are anxiety features and conflicts involving family relationships as well as a desire to make amends or ambition to succeed. The effects of the subject's incarceration are evident in the frequent stories of sorrow and despair, frustration, etc. Suicidal and death phantasies, as a self-inflicted punishment for guilt, and latent aggression turned against others are present.

Most of the goals, traumatic experiences, values, complexes, and inner motivation revealed, seem to represent alternative methods of expiating his latent guilt feelings.

The case history (not presented here) is in harmony with the analysis. John D. attempted suicide three times while an inmate of the institution. His crimes were poorly planned and he was easily apprehended. He seemed somewhat relieved when first imprisoned. He has periodic pseudo-psychotic storms during which he mutilates and slashes himself over the limbs and body with whatever sharp instruments are at hand such as glass, stones, etc. He constitutes a behavior problem in the institution and gets into all kinds of difficulties for which he is frequently punished. After punishment he stabilizes temporarily only to repeat the cycle once more.

The psychopathic personality frequently unconsciously seeks punishment as a result of a guilt complex and commits his crimes which are psychically determined in order to be punished. Thus, we have also the occurrence of phantasies involving assault, crime, murder, etc. Occasionally, the unconscious desire for further punishment after imprisonment takes the form of self-punishment and we get suicidal phantasies and actual suicidal attempts.

VII. SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF INTRA-PSYCHIC CONFLICTS REVEALED BY ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES TO ALL 15 PICTURES

Table II presents, in tabular form, a composite summary of the intra-psychic conflicts revealed through a qualitative analysis of all the responses to all 15 pictures.

TABLE II

Anxiety (Separation)	203	Patriotism	16
Description	187	Nostalgia	15
Ambition (Future)	183	Sickness	14
Conflicts Inv. Family Relat.	183	Intoxication	14
Guilt Feelings (Punishment)	136	Resurrection	14
Unresolved Psychic Conflicts	125	Desire for Power	14
Death	95	Rejection of Blank	12
Sorrow, Depression Despair	88	Cerebration	11
Aggression, Assault	81	Application to Work	10
Father and Son Relationship	63	Desire for Light	10
Eroticism	62	Revenge, Retribution	8
Suicide	62	Blindness	7
Escape-Desire for Freedom	59	Nervous Exhaustion	6
Prayer	59	Poverty	5
Frustration	52	Art Interpretation	5
Happiness, Well-Being	46	Good Ending	5
Operation	44	Prostitution	4
Crime and Imprisonment	42	Confusion	4
Rejection of Picture	42	Rationalization	4
Nudity Shock	35	Retrospection	4
Void	33	Hypochondriasis	4
Desire to Help Others	32	Insanity	3
Inferiority Feelings	28	Desertion	3
Magic and Ghosts (Eerie)	27	Hero Worship	3
Desire for Help	27	Negativism	2
Paranoia, Suspicion of authority	23	Homosexuality	2
Unfaithful Wife, Rejection	23	Self-Pity	2
Sleep	22	Wonder	2
Hyponotization	22	Epileptic Fit	2
Anger	21	Love of Books	1
Incest	20	Picture Foolish	1
Gun	18	Fright	1
Murder	18	Pity	1
Agitator	18		
Religious	17	Total	2405

INTERPRETATIONS

There can be little doubt from the consideration of the type of fantasy detailed here (Table II) of the exceedingly traumatic nature of

the incarceration experience itself. All 60 cases had already been institutionalized for a minimum of two years. The most frequent fantasy elicited was of a type symptomatic of anxiety usually *separation anxiety* (203 responses). There were numerous expressions of longing for loved ones at home—mother, wife, sweetheart, etc. The fact that most of the subjects came from insecure homes, many of them broken through death or separation of the parents, and others economically and socially unstable, no doubt contributed to insecurity feelings on the part of the subjects. Separation anxiety in their fantasy life may be an expression of fundamental insecurity and also the result of their actual separation from their families and homes. The inmates usually revealed feelings of having been rejected by their parents in early childhood which resulted in anxiety and insecurity. The same type of phenomenon was demonstrated in the cases of hospitalized children by Dr. H. Edelston in a recent study.⁽⁹⁾

It might be profitable to briefly inquire into the origin of this anxiety in terms of inner psychodynamics. Freud,⁽¹⁰⁾ felt that "dammed up libido" was converted into anxiety. The libidinal energy of our subjects were "dammed" up through removal from normal society by imprisonment and through their inherent psychopathic propensities. In a later work, Freud⁽¹¹⁾ maintained the view that "the ego is the seat of anxiety," thus giving up his earlier theory that "the energy of a repressed impulse is turned into anxiety." He espouses the theory that anxiety is the expression of a fear of (symbolic) castration. Now, an examination of our subjects' histories discloses a great preponderance of cruel, dominating fathers and other features of family relationship which promote castration anxiety. It is worth noting that the 63 responses illustrating father and son relationships were mostly of the type that involved unconscious wishes for the death of the father, fear of castration by the father, stories relating to wrongdoing and severe punishment by the father, etc. Frequently, the anxiety works by resuscitating old conflicts and we get reactions based upon aggressive or hate feelings (81 responses, see Table II).

Other indications of the fundamental insecurity of our subjects are the frequent examples of conflicts involving family relationships (183 responses), guilt feelings (136 responses), unresolved generalized psychic conflicts between alternative forms of action (125 responses), frustration (46 responses), inferiority feelings (28 responses), etc. Such insecurity is quite understandable for the individuals studied here in view

of their histories illustrating parental neglect or mismanagement. Burt⁽¹²⁾ has called attention to the frequency of "defective family relationships" in the histories of delinquents. These defective family relationships are clearly reflected in the 183 *conflicts involving family relationships*.

There were 187 responses merely *describing* the pictures without illustrating any intra-psychic conflict. This serves to enhance the value of the approach because the descriptive responses occur among 13 of the 15 pictures and indicate that subjects respond in accordance with the actual presence of the internal conflicts and that the stories are projected from within, not artificially produced from without through stimulation by the content. Thus, some subjects who are free from a particular conflict *cannot* be stimulated to make up a story illustrating the conflict but merely describe the picture.

A large number of responses (183) represent stories in terms of the future and ambitious projects which the inmate will undertake and fulfill when he gets out. Thus, fantasies of the incarcerated individual frequently represent wish-fulfillment to compensate for the strong feelings of insecurity, anxiety and frustration. Typical stories represent the hero who succeeds in life and wins the approval of all, the criminal who reforms and is received back in the good graces of his family, etc.

There are strong evidences of morbidity apparent in many of the stories as seen by 95 responses involving *death*, 88 involving sorrow, depression or despair, 62 involving suicide, 14 involving sickness, etc. These fit in with the 136 responses involving guilt feelings and unconscious desire for punishment. The psychopath has, instead of the usual amount of inhibition and conscience consistent with normal super-ego development, a pathological preponderance of guilt feelings which drive him at times towards self-punishment, depression, suicide, death, etc. and at other times aggression against others is generated and we get assault, crime (42 responses) murder (18 responses), etc. The ambivalent reactions to guilt are clearly illustrated in the fantasies.

Further interpretations will be reserved for the brief discussions of the specific phantasies elicited by each picture. There has already been presented data concerning the qualitative nature of the phantasies elicited by each picture. The scale seems to have intentionally or unintentionally been devised by Murray so that each picture has special value for bringing out certain qualitatively different types of fantasy material.

VIII. SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF RESPONSES

PICTURE BY PICTURE

Picture I

Ambition (Future)	56
Frustration	19
Description	12
Cerebration	10
Anxiety (Separation)	8
Inferiority Feelings	8
Unresolved Psychic Conflicts	6
Nervous Exhaustion	6
Guilt Feelings (Punishment)	4
Sorrow, Depression, Despair	4
Confusion	4
Desire to Help Others	2
Anger	2
Application to Work	2
Good Ending	2
Hero Worship	2
Negativism	2

149

Picture I seems to elicit wish fulfillment ambition fantasies most often (56 responses). These are of the type where the subject identifies himself with the boy in the picture and visualizes himself as succeeding in some trade or profession or he fantasizes himself as overcoming all difficulties and surmounting all obstacles to become a success admired by everyone. It is a common phenomenon among people who have been frustrated in their hopes and who have been unsuccessful, to compensate by dreaming or daydreaming of success. Our subjects evidence this compensatory fantasy in their stories.

It is significant that the next most frequent fantasy illustrates frustration itself (19 responses) where no compensation has taken place in the fantasy life. These individuals usually have correlated phantasies of inferiority feeling (8 responses), nervous exhaustion (6 responses), guilt feelings (4 responses), sorrow (4 responses), and confusion (4 responses).

The majority of the subjects repress the present, their incarceration symbolic of their failure, and dream in terms of the *future*. In the 10 pure cerebration responses, full compensation for the frustration has not yet been achieved through fantasy.

Picture II

Description	49
Ambition (Future)	32
Anxiety (Separation)	18
Conflicts Involving	
Family Relationships	17
Desire to Help Others	6
Guilt Feelings (Punishment)	5
Escape-Desire for Freedom	5
Application to Work	5
Unresolved Psychic Conflict	4
Rejection of Picture	4
Happiness-Well Being	2
Sorrow	2
Cerebration	1
Good Ending	1
Hero Worship	1
Love of Books	1

153

This picture stimulates description and does not particularly influence the revelations of intra-psychic conflict solving fantasies, (49 of the responses are descriptive). However, ambition fantasies are elicited in 32 instances although the content of the picture is far different from that in Picture I. The separation anxiety responses have already been discussed under the general interpretations of the data as a whole. They are particularly significant as responses to this picture, because to most normal people the scene represents one of tranquility, stability, security and contentment. The conflicts involving family relationships range from rejection of the mother by the daughter (a variation of the Electra complex) to anxiety and guilt on the part of the daughter in relation to the mother. There are also scattered fantasies present such as escape, guilt feelings, sorrow, etc. which in individual protocols fit into a coherent pattern.

Picture III

Unresolved Psychic Conflicts	86
Anxiety (Separation)	60
Guilt Feelings (Punishment)	34
Sorrow, Depression, Despair	10
Ambition (Future)	6
Inferiority Feelings	5
Escape-Desire for Freedom	5
Homosexualism	2
Description	2
Self-Pity	2
Good Ending	2
Conflicts Involving Family Relationships	2
Anger	1
Paranoia-Suspicion of Authority	1

 218

This picture gives us good insight into the unresolved intra-psychic conflicts of psychopathic defectives. 86 responses centered about an unresolved Oedipus situation. Either the mother was overprotecting the son or the mother and son relationship was markedly good. Occasionally the son was represented as being cruel to the mother. Very often *ambivalent* feelings towards the mother is displayed. The son feels guilty towards the mother. There is guilt and fancied mistreatment of the mother which leads to further guilt and anxiety. Sixty responses are clearly symptomatic of separation anxiety usually between mother and son. There is also a strong weighting of guilt in the picture (34 responses). In the case of this picture it might be argued that the content itself is conducive to the fantasies elicited. Still, there is a wide scatter in the variety and quality of the responses which made possible individual interpretations.

Picture IV

Description	29
Suicide	21
Escape-Desire for Freedom	16
Nostalgia	11
Desire for Light	10
Ambition (Future)	8
Aggression	6
Happiness-Well Being	6
Anxiety (Separation)	6
Rejection of Picture	4
Crime and Imprisonment	3
Inferiority Feelings	2
Desire to Help Others	2
Blindness	2
Frustration	2
Wonder	2
Picture Foolish	1
Operation	1
Sleep	1

 133

Many are content with mere description of the picture. Of the conflicts revealed, the *suicidal* and the *escape* fantasy predominate. Suicide frequently occurs as the outcome of guilt conflicts. Escape from prison is frequently fantasized by inmates but rarely attempted. Nostalgia (11 responses) may be related to the escape fantasy. In the stories loneliness and longing for home have usually lead to escape. It is interesting that the picture could be interpreted either as a man going out of the window of a dark, enclosed room to the light of the outdoors or as a man entering a dark room through the window. Our subjects chose the former interpretation usually as escape or suicide. A few (10 responses) centered around the admitting of light into a dark dungeon and this type of response is closely related to the escape fantasy.

Picture V

Conflicts Involving	
Family Relationships	68
Anxiety (Separation)	32
Sorrow, Depression, Despair	21
Guilt Feelings (Punishment)	15
Ambition (Future)	12
Eroticism	10
Unresolved Psychic Conflicts	7
Rejection of Picture	6
Death	5
Frustration	4
Incest	3
Suspicion of Authority	
or Paranoia	2
Description	2
Sickness	1

 188

Most of the subjects come from broken homes or homes in which the intra-family relationships were of the poorest. Many of the intra-psychic conflicts elicited by this picture are reflections of the faults in the early rearing of the inmates and enter into the etiology of their anti-social behavior. Most frequently the stories revolve around the rejected child with whom the subject identifies. Some express clearly through fantasy the reaction to an over strict father who punished the child severely, etc. Coupled with these conflicts are separation anxiety, depressed states, guilt feelings and drive for power particularly the unconscious wish to replace the father in the mother's affection and inherit his role of authority. Some expression is given to incest fantasies, frustrations and erotic stories, but these are in the minority.

Picture VI

Suicide	37
Guilt Feelings (Punishment)	21
Sorrow, Despair	20
Sleep	15
Gun	14
Death	13
Murder	12
Frustration	12
Aggression, Assault	10
Escape	9
Description	9
Crime	8
Anxiety (Separation)	4
Paranoia	2
Rejection of Picture	2

 188

The figure with his head on the couch and the revolver beside him most often gives rise to the suicidal fantasy following the expression of strong guilt feelings or sorrow and despair. Another type of subject who is more of the aggressive, assaultive psychopath will often interpret the picture as murder, crime, aggressiveness, death, etc. Frustration usually precedes the aggression in the story. The picture has particular value in distinguishing between aggression turned against self and aggression directed against the external object.

Picture VII

Nudity Shock
Conflicts Involving
Family Relationships
Eroticism
Rejection of Picture
Description
Religious
Guilt Feelings
Incest
Poverty
Ambition (Future)
Sorrow, Depression
Prostitution
Art Interpretation
Unresolved Conflict
Inferiority Feelings

35

26

16

14

11

10

8

8

5

5

5

4

3

2

2

154

The nude figures set into motion all of the feelings of shame, guilt, and embarrassment, etc. latent in the psychopathic make-up. This is expressed through a verbalization of revulsion or shock centering around the nudity.

Conflicts involving family situations are again in evidence. It is significant that such conflicts are aroused by the same nudity which caused shock and revulsion and indicates the close connection between the two in the psychodynamics of the individual.

Some frankly relate erotic stories while others reject the picture entirely or merely describe it. Many attempt to idealize it by giving religious interpretations in accordance with their ego-ideals.

Guilt feelings, incestual fantasies, depressive episodes, etc. all come in for their share of projection.

Picture VIII

Father and Son Relationship
Unresolved Psychic
Conflicts
Paranoia—Suspicion of
Authority
Guilt Feelings
(Punishment)
Ambition (Future)
Crime and Imprisonment
Anger
Description
Anxiety (Separation)
Frustration
Aggression, Assault

58

20

16

13

13

12

9

8

6

6

5

166

The presence of a gray haired older man and a younger man in most cases immediately elicits a fantasy involving open or veiled antagonism between father and son. Frequently, the ambivalent feelings toward the father are brought out. The inmate almost always identifies with the younger man even if he happens to be an older man himself. The basic conflict usually is concerned with a quarrel between father and son over the latter's misconduct and the disowning of the son by the father. Occasionally the story portrays rejection of the son by the father, or advice and counsel to the son by the father. The father may represent the conscience and the story the struggle between the psychopath and his conscience.

The unresolved psychic conflicts usually involve the inability to choose between alternate roads of action. Frequently the story portrays sleeplessness, night terrors and other evidences of an unresolved conflict. The 16 paranoid responses usually represent the older man as a warden, prison keeper or chaplain and a suspicion of his motives on the part of the younger man who is an inmate.

Guilt feelings and ambitious fantasies are present in a rich variety of story content. Twelve of the responses involve crime and imprisonment.

Picture IX

Aggression, Assault	41
Desire to Help Others	22
Description	17
Crime and Imprisonment	14
(Acquisitive)	14
Intoxication	14
Guilt Feelings	
(Punishment)	13
Rejection of Picture	6
Sorrow, Despair, Depression	6
Death	5
Inferiority Feelings	4
Magic—Ghosts	4
Anxiety (Separation)	2
	—
	148

This picture provides a strong stimulus to the projection of the latent aggressive and assaultive tendencies of the psychopath. It helps to distinguish between the assaultive and submissive types of criminals. It also aids in identifying acquisitive criminals and alcoholics. Guilt feelings and craving for punishment are present (13 responses).

Picture X

Operation	43
Ambition (Future)	39
Description	18
Anxiety	17
Death	14
Sorrow, Despair	12
Conflicts in	
Family Relationships	10
Escape—Desire for	
Freedom	7
Murder	6
Inferiority Feelings	5
Gun	4
Rationalization	4
Patriotism	2
Guilt Feelings	2
Crime and Imprisonment	1
	—
	184

Many of the responses ignore the young man and the foreground of the picture and react strongly to the background which suggests a surgical operation to them. This stimulates stories which culminate in the operation. There may be a sadistic element in the psychopathic personality which receives vicarious gratification through the operation fantasy. Usually, the story involves all of the details of the operation which is frequently unsuccessful resulting in death. This accounts for the 14 death responses and the 12 sorrow responses which represent grief for the death of a loved one who is fantasied as having died under the knife as a result of an operation. The 17 anxiety responses in this case correspond to anxiety on the part of the young man in the foreground for a father or other relative who is being operated upon. There are only 39 ambition responses out of a total of 184 responses to the picture although actually most normal individuals interpret the picture as a young man dreaming to become a successful surgeon. The abnormal projective propensities of our subjects are clearly evident. There are scattered responses symptomatic of conflicts in family relationships, desire for escape and freedom, inferiority feelings and criminal tendencies *per se*.

Picture XI

Conflicts in Family Relationships (Marital)	39
Eroticism	36
Unfaithful Wife—Rejection	23
Guilt Feelings (Punishment)	16
Desire for Help	12
Anxiety (Separation)	10
Aggression, Assault	10
Anger	9
Ambition (Future)	8
Happiness—Well Being	8
Incest	7
Escape—Desire for Freedom	7
Frustration	4
Crime and Imprisonment	4
Revenge and Retribution	4
Sorrow, Despair, Depression	3
Rejection of Picture	2

202

This picture has a high stimulus value and produces a large variety of types of fantasies. It is one of the best pictures for individual diagnosis for these reasons and will frequently reveal material in the subject's history of a traumatic nature or of etiological significance.

The conflicts in family relationships all relate to marital problems (39 responses) and in addition there are 23 responses involving an unfaithful wife who rejects the husband. Most prisoners who are married or had steady girl friends before they came to prison have frequent feelings of anxiety about the faithfulness of their spouses or girl friends. They live through these anxieties time and again in their fantasy and dream life. They have all sorts of hidden fears centering around the marriage such as fear of loss of potency by the time they get out, loss of their power to attract their spouse physically etc.

The 36 erotic responses are usually those of unmarried and unattached men who were sexually promiscuous before incarceration. The many scattered responses of all types are usually very important in individual cases.

Picture XII

Death	37
Prayer	25
Hypnotization	22
Sickness	13
Resurrection	8
Sleep	6
Desire for Help	6
Father and Son Relationship	5
Desire for Power	5
Description	4
Magic and Ghosts	4
Retrospection	4
Hypochondriasis	4
Blindness	3
Anxiety (Separation)	2
Inferiority Feelings	2
Incest	2
Epileptic Fit	2

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The death fantasy occurs most frequently in response to this picture. The reclining figure who could be sleeping is only interpreted as asleep in 6 fantasies, as dead in 37 instances, and as hypnotized in 22 instances. The more morbid the interpretations, the more it seems to be favored by the psychopath. The variety and richness of the story material produced by this picture is illustrated by the many types of responses. The occurrence of the prayer interpretation in 25 cases brings out the motif of atoning for guilt feelings and sins.

Picture XIII

Void	33
Conflicts in	
Family Relationships	19
Happiness—Well Being	16
Rejection of Blank	12
Anxiety (Separation)	11
Escape—Desire for Freedom	8
Patriotism	8
Religious	7
Guilt Feelings (Punishment)	5
Aggression, Assault	5
Ambition (Future)	4
Revenge, Retribution	4
Blindness	2
Desire for Power	1

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This is a blank card which was intended by the author for use in catching any hallucinations that might be present in psychotic patients. None of our 60 subjects hallucinated in response to this card. Thirty-three said it was blank, and 12 refused to answer because it was blank. When it was clear that the subject knew it was a blank card, he was asked to imagine any kind of a picture he liked there and to make up a story about it. The resulting stories which represent pure projections of the subjects to a blank stimulus still revealed 19 conflicts involving family relationships, 11 stories illustrative of anxiety, 8 escape fantasies, etc. However, 16 responses represented wish fulfillment where the subject imagined himself happy and enjoying life.

Picture XIV

Anxiety (Separation)	24
Agitator	18
Happiness—Well Being	14
Description	11
Desire for Help	9
Desire for Power	8
Patriotism	6
Aggression, Assault	4
Nostalgia	4
Frustration	3
Application to Work	3
Insanity	3
Sorrow, Despair, Depression	2
Escape—Desire for Freedom	2
Paranoia	2
Prayer	1

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The picture inspires anxiety fantasies strongly colored by fear. The typical story represents the man pictured as having his face distorted by some threatening, overpowering fear. He is worried by fear of the unknown and feels alone with nobody around to help him. Thus, there are 9 desire for help responses.

Some subjects of aggressive personality who gave constant aggressive responses on many of the pictures here represent the man in the picture as an agitator.

There is a scatter of other types of fantasy which fit into individual patterns consistent with the other pictures.

Picture XV

Prayer	33
Death	21
Magic—Ghosts	19
Description	15
Resurrection	6
Rejection of Picture	4
Suicide	4
Desertion	3
Sorrow, Depression	3
Anxiety (Separation)	3
Conflicts Involving	
Family Relationships	2
Frustration	2
Art Interpretation	2
Fright	1
Pity	1

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The most prevalent fantasy in response to this picture involves praying for the soul of a dead loved one or relative. Thus, prayer and death comprise 54 responses. Most of the other responses are also morbid as is to be expected from the content of the picture. Only two responses involve the artistic quality of the picture and it is worth noting that the picture is a print of a fine wood-cut of high artistic quality.

The responses involving *magic* and *ghosts* are illustrative of the primitive nature of some of the inmates. Many of them function habitually on a primitive level, are very superstitious and possess many unfounded beliefs.

IX. SUMMARY

1. The Thematic Apperception Test was administered to 60 inmates of an institution for defective delinquents who had been also diagnosed as psychopathic personalities by psychiatric interview.

2. The stories were broken down into responses and classified according to the intrapsychic conflict which gave expression to it, the inner motivation for the response, the goal or drive which it represented or a possible complex or trauma to which the response is a clue.

3. The *stimulus value* of each picture was determined for the 60 psychopathic defectives.

4. A typical protocol was presented verbatim and interpreted to illustrate the methods of classification of responses and of analysis of the intra-psychic conflicts, etc. revealed.

5. The 2,405 responses to the 15 pictures by the 60 subjects were summarized and interpreted for the set as a whole and then for each picture consecutively.

6. The results indicate that the psychopathic defective can be adequately studied by the use of the Thematic Apperception Test so as to reveal facets of his personality which cannot be reached by other non-projective techniques.

7. Anxiety, ambition conflicts involving family relationships, guilt feelings and unconscious desire for punishment are the most frequent features of the psychopathic defective's fantasy revealed. Unresolved psychic conflicts, death, depression and despair, aggression and assault, eroticism, suicide, etc. fantasies are fairly common.

8. Each picture is heavily loaded with a particular type of fantasy and differs qualitatively from the others as a stimulus to projection.

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SOME NOTES ON FIRE-SETTERS AND THEIR RORSCHACH TESTS*

ERNEST G. SCHACHTEL

New York, N. Y.

The psychological and criminological interest in fire-setters, as compared with other delinquents, derives chiefly from the fact they neither hope to gain any material advantage nor, in most cases, wish to injure physically any person against whom they have a grudge. Fire-setting, together with some sexual offenses, would seem to follow the pleasure principle only, to the exclusion of any profit motive. It is the irrational offense par excellence and as such of particular interest to the psychologist.

I. THE RORSCHACH MATERIAL

The following notes are based on the study of eleven Rorschach-records of fire-setters.** These eleven records were selected for interpretation from approximately 50 records. The selection was made at random, omitting too incomplete records and records of very dull or mentally defective cases. With the exception of three records, which will be discussed separately, the selection was limited to cases in which more than one fire had been set by the subject and in which no ulterior motive, such as revenge, was consciously apparent in the subject. The discussion will be a psychogram and with some general considerations suggested by the more significant trends. The average psychogram is computed from the eight Rorschach records which tentatively may be considered as typical of "irrational" fire-setters. All eight subjects are male. Their average age is 22, three of them are 15, four between 20 and 30, one 37.

* The study, of which these notes present the results, is a contribution to a comprehensive, clinical investigation of fire-setters by Dr. Helen Yarnell and was aided by a grant from the National Board of Fire Underwriters and Columbia University. Some of the individual Rorschach-analyses will be published in Dr. Yarnell's forthcoming book.

** The Rorschach records were taken by Dr. Helen Yarnell. The interpretations were made on the basis of these records. Apart from age, sex, and the fact that they set fires, nothing was known to the writer about the subjects.

TABLE I. RORSCHACH-PSYCHOGRAM OF FIRE-SETTERS
COMPUTED FROM THE AVERAGE SCORE OF 8 RECORDS*

6.4 W	21.9 F(5.8 -)	11.6 A
0.4 DW	1.1 M	2.5 Ad
21.3 D (1.1 confab.)	1.5 FC	1.9 H
1.3 Dd	2.4 CF	1.6 Hd
0.6 S	0.6 C	1.9 Anat.
—	1.3 F (C)	0.3 blood
30.0	0.3 (C)F	1.0 fire
	0.1 (C)	0.3 smoke, charred wood
	0.2 FCO	8.9 various
	0.6 COF	—
	—	30.0
	30.0	

Apperceptive Type: W - D

Sequence: mostly loose

F+ : 74%

Experience Type: 1.1 M : 3.7 C

A : 47%

6 P

3.7 O (2.3-)

1.7 Mt

0.2 expr.

0.2 perspect.

The significance of the firesetter psychogram will become more apparent when it is compared with the average score for normal adult persons of average intelligence. For this purpose we take the data given by Rorschach and by Gardener.^{(3)**}

* The scoring symbols are those used by H. Rorschach.⁽¹⁾ In addition to these the following symbols have been used: (F(C), (C)F, and (C) to indicate all shading responses with the exception of Chiaroscuro responses, which have been designated by the symbols FCO, COF, and CO. The Chiaroscuro responses are identical with Binder's⁽²⁾ Hd (Helldunkeldeutungen). Movements other than Rorschach's M have been indicated, in addition to their usual Rorschach score (which may be one of form, color, or shading) by the sign Mt. (Movement tendency). In the same way, responses in which facial expression is involved have been indicated by an additional score "expr.," and responses in which perspective is involved (see ⁽¹⁾ p. 201) by an additional score "perspect."

** See Rorschach's Table VIII,⁽¹⁾ p. 50. It is doubtful whether Rorschach's figures are representative for the Swiss population. Gardener's⁽³⁾ statistics are computed from 100 American nurses, 70 female and 30 male, with an I. Q. ranging from 85 to 115. Although his subjects, too, cannot be considered as a representative sample of the population in general, his survey is, as far as I can see, the only available statistics of Rorschach scores of American normal adults of average intelligence. The most striking difference between Rorschach's and Gardener's subjects is the higher number of M in the Swiss subjects. The experience type of the Swiss sample is introversive, of the American sample coartative and slightly extroversive. In spite of the inadequacy of the statistical material this difference may be a real, cultural difference between Americans and Swiss. However, this question can only be answered when more adequate and representative statistics have been assembled.

TABLE II.
AVERAGE RORSCHACH SCORES OF NORMAL ADULTS
(RORSCHACH AND GARDENER)
FIRESETTERS AND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS
(ENDACOTT)

	R	W	D	Dd	S	App.	M	FC	CF	C	Sig. C	F+%	A%
Rorschach's av. adults (ca. 32)	4.7					W-D	2.4	1.3	0.1	0	0.5-2½	70-80	30-55
Gardener's av. adults	2.2	7	13	1-2	0-1	W-D	1	0.8	0.5	0.4	1.5	—	51.9
firesetters	3.0	6.4	21.3	1.3	0.6	W-D	1.1	1.5	2.4	0.6	3-7	74	47
Endacott's juvenile del.	21.6	4	14	2	0.7	W-D	1	0.77	0.49	—	0.88	88.4	53.72

The number of kinesthetic responses (M) is unevenly distributed in our sample, since 7 of them are given by two subjects, one of whom is a schizophrenic of superior intelligence (4 M). The remaining 6 subjects have an average of 0.3 M, which would point to a relative lack of inner stability and of those creative factors in intelligence which take up energies that otherwise are often simply discharged, particularly if the affectivity is as unbalanced, impulsive, and egocentric as it is in our subjects, as indicated by their color reactions.

While the significance of the kinesthetic reaction, due to the uneven distribution and the small number of cases, may be doubtful, the *Color reaction* points to a significant difference between the firesetters and the average, normal person. The type of color reaction indicated by the Rorschach score is fairly evenly distributed in our sample. Sigma C is nowhere less than 2.5; in five cases it is higher, up to 8.5 in one of the two schizophrenic subjects of our sample. Also, the prevalence of CF and C over FC responses indicating the lability of affects, is, with a single exception, evenly distributed in our material. The exception is made by one subject giving 5 FC responses; he is the most repressed of our firesetters, and seems to be entirely unaware of any motive or feeling with regard to his fire-setting. His personality structure is markedly different from the others, particularly regarding dynamisms of repression. The amount of pure C (0.6) is higher than in Rorschach's, but only very slightly higher than in Gardener's normal subjects. However, pure C together with many CF has a more impulsive and often destructive significance than with no or fewer CF. 0.4 C with 0.5 CF (Gardener's subjects) means something very different from 0.6 C with 2.4 CF (fire-setters). The significance of the pure C score is diminished by the uneven distribution in our sample. One of our two schizophrenic subjects contributes three to the total number of five C responses, so that the average C score for the remaining 7 subjects is only 0.28, which is less than in Gardener's normal subjects.

The outstanding characteristic of the firesetters' Rorschach psychogram, then, is the high number of color responses, the marked prevalence of CF + C over FC, that is of labile, egocentric affectivity over adapted affectivity. The question arises whether they share these characteristics with other delinquents or whether this is a specific reaction of the firesetters. Since there is no adequate statistical material available on Rorschach scores of adult delinquents, the comparison will be made with Endacott's⁽⁴⁾ data on juvenile delinquents of an average age of 14 - 5

years. The age factor does not seem too much in the way of such a comparison, since the three 15 year old boys among our fire-setters do not show any marked difference from the adult ones, and since a comparison of Endacott's adolescents with Gardener's normal adults also does not point to any major differences. As table II (p. 4) shows, Endacott's juvenile delinquents give less color responses than our fire-setters and even less than Gardener's normal adults. Also, they have a co-artative experience type (0.99 M : 0.88 C), even more so than Gardener's adults, and finally they have a prevalence of FC over CF and C. As Endacott remarks, they have a rigid, stiff geared type of personality, which certainly cannot be said of our firesetters.*

The following tabulation gives a more detailed picture of the fire-setters' color reactions. It shows the distribution of their color responses among the various chromatic colors of the Rorschach plates.

TABLE III
COLOR RESPONSES OF FIRE-SETTERS

	RED & PINK	ORANGE	COLORFUL*	BLUE & GREEN	TOTAL
FC	5	2	—	5	12
CF	13	2	2	2	19
C	2	1	1	1	5
Total	20	5	3	8	36

* Endacott's results seem to contradict those of Zulliger's⁽⁵⁾ study of juvenile thieves. Zulliger reports that the two main characteristics of his subjects were the tendency to confabulated responses and the prevalence of CF and C over FC responses. As his tabulations show, most of his subjects give a high-number of color responses. My own experience with Rorschach records of American juvenile delinquents tends to be more in line with Endacott's results. It seems to me, however, that—due to social and cultural differences between the Swiss scene and particularly the big cities of U. S. A.—stealing means something very different to a Swiss youth from what it means to a boy in the tenements of a large American city. Zulliger's juvenile thieves seem to be more similar to our firesetters than to the average juvenile thief in U. S. A. One might think, that the lack of inhibitions and the affective impulsiveness and egocentricity needed to become a thief within the rather tight, rigid, and slow-changing cultural and family pattern of Switzerland is quite sufficient here to produce such dramatic and spectacular acts as fire-setting.

* The column headed "colorful" contains those responses which are not given to single colors but to the stimulus of several different colors on one plate. The intensity of this stimulus (comparable to a flower bed with many different flowers, or to the patterns of a kaleidoscope) lies in the neighborhood of the strong, active colors red and yellow. The fact that there is no response to yellow is probably a chance occurrence, due to the smallness of our sample and to the fact that the Rorschach series contains only two small yellow areas in plate X.

The responses to the red and pink areas (20 responses) make up 55% of all color responses. However, responses to red and pink are generally much higher than to any other color in the Rorschach plates.* The fire-setters follow this general trend.

What may be a significant difference in their color reaction, is the high incidence of CF responses to red and pink. 13 out of 20 responses to red and pink are CF (=65%), whereas only 2 out of 8 responses to blue and green are CF (=25%). In the control group of 17 juvenile delinquents referred to above (in the preceding footnote) only 5 out of 17 responses to red and pink are CF (=29%) and one out of 4 responses to blue and green is CF (=25%). The samples are too small to permit definite conclusions; nevertheless this high frequency of red and pink CF will be an interesting point for further comparative studies of fire-setters and other groups, and it brings to mind the question whether in this reaction to the red color we have not a symbol of their attitude to fire.

In this connection it is also remarkable that in the *content* of their responses fire appears quite frequently, the average being one fire response per record which is definitely more than in the general population. Although the content of responses is not very important in the Rorschach method, the mentioning of fire by people who have been tried or committed to institutions because of what they have done with fire is an interesting and significant deviation from the behavior of the average delinquent who would hardly ever mention the object or weapon

* This trend may be equally due to the fact that approximately half of the chromatically colored areas of the Rorschach cards are red and pink, whereas the other half is distributed unevenly among orange, blue, green, yellow, as to the fact that red is the most striking color. Recently Ruesch and Finesinger⁽⁶⁾ have made a statistical investigation of the frequency with which 60 subjects (55 of them either psychiatric cases or feeble-minded) reacted to the various colors of the Rorschach cards. As was to be expected, they found that red—which in their survey apparently includes pink—was the color most reacted to. Their results are not quite comparable with ours because they consider the Chiaroscuro response (e. g. smoke or cloud to one of the black and gray cards) also as a color response whereas I would follow Rorschach in the assumption that chiaroscuro responses have a significance very different from chromatic color responses. In a group comparable to ours with regard to the number of color responses Ruesch and Finesinger found that responses to red amounted to 54% of all color responses. When the correction is made for their inclusion of CO among the color responses, this figure would be even higher. A survey of the incidence of red and pink responses in 17 juvenile delinquents (for which I am indebted to Dr. Ruth Valentine) with an average two color responses revealed that the red and pink responses constituted 55% of all chromatic color responses, exactly the same percentage as in our fire-setters who give an average of 4.5 color responses (Sigma C 3.7)

of his offense in a situation like that of the Rorschach test where he is entirely free to say or keep to himself what enters his mind. In several hundred records of delinquents I have hardly ever encountered such a direct and open reference to something closely connected with the offense of which the delinquent has been found guilty. The affective basis of the fire-setting activity, the impulsive and irrational traits characteristic of the fire-setters seem to find an expression also in the free mention of fire in some of their Rorschach records.

As mentioned before, three cases have been excluded from this survey of fire-setters' Rorschach reactions because, for various reasons, they seemed atypical. However, a brief discussion of these cases will throw into relief the "typical" firesetter reactions and enable the reader to judge for himself whether these cases justifiably can be considered as atypical or, at least, as belonging to a different kind of fire-setters. One of them is a paranoid woman of 41 years who set her garage on fire because she wanted a volunteer fireman who she thought was in love with her to come to her house. Her Rorschach record is rather typical of paranoid Rorschach reactions; she has no color and three movement responses, which is, of course, quite different from our eight fire-setters. The next case is a fourteen year old boy who has set no fires but is strongly preoccupied with phantasies about fire and sex. His color reaction is limited to two FC responses to pink and red; he has two M responses. He adds later a CF (fire) response with aggressive content. The structure of his personality is rather similar to the other fire-setters, certainly more so than the paranoid case. The third case is that of a man of 45, twice as old as the average age of the eight fire-setters, who set 15 small fires while he was very drunk. He has three M and no color responses. His personality structure is again very different from the other fire-setters; he is quite inhibited, not at all impulsive. Apparently he had to drink in order to overcome those inhibitions the absence of which is characteristic of the typical fire-setters.*

II. A NOTE ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FIRE-SETTING

The labile, unadapted, and often impulsive affectivity, indicated by the color reactions, is the most characteristic, single trait in our group of fire-setters. None of them shows the Rorschach pattern of an obsessional neurosis which in the clinical literature is frequently attributed to fire-setters. As can be seen from the individual Rorschach analyses, some of them are generally labile, impulsive, uninhibited, whereas in some others there is a pronounced dichotomy between a sphere of adaptive efforts, attempts to meet the demands made on them, submission to authority and the sudden abandon of these efforts in an immersion in their affects. The adaptive sphere is felt as more or less oppressive, and satisfaction is derived from this sudden drowning in a wave of affect,

* According to a communication by Anna Hartoch Schachtel the Rorschach records of six children from 6-13 years who had set fires, did not show any significant differences from the Rorschach records of other children of the same ages and background.

resembling orgasmic phenomena. These "immersions" in an affect often seem to discharge destructive impulses as well as to satisfy grandiose ideas.

What is the nature of the satisfaction experienced by these "irrational" fire-setters who seem to be motivated merely by the pleasure derived from fire-setting? While the Rorschach reactions do not give a direct answer to this question, they may be reviewed in the light of the suggestions offered by the literature and they may offer ground for further speculation and investigation.

Fire is magical power and gives the satisfaction of magical power.* The aggressive and destructive potency of this magical weapon is particularly emphasized in the literature. It may be fruitful to distinguish between the goal of destruction, of aggression, of wielding destructive power (which, after all, is common to the fire-setters and many other people who do not set fires) and the satisfaction derived from the particular medium chosen to obtain this goal. It may even be that this medium is more important than the goal. The medium chosen, fire, and the relation of the fire-setter to this medium, his feelings and experiences in using it, deserve particular attention. It is here that the "magical" quality of fire comes to the foreground. By striking a match the fire-setter achieves tremendous, spectacular effects on a scale which entirely transcends the usual proportion between effort and achievement. He feels that he is producing what the forces of nature, set loose by him, are producing for him. It is a production which exceeds in dramatic magnitude everything he could hope to produce by the slow and laborious process of work. Such a magic realization of grandiose ideas probably has a strong appeal. Once more the firesetter has the magical power of the child to create and destroy whole worlds in his play, a power that usually the adult has lost and forgotten.*

One might also think that particularly those fire-setters in whom we found a strong dichotomy between the oppressive sphere of adaptation to social demands and the sphere of affective discharge and satis-

* This has been found by Yarnell⁽⁷⁾ to be the strongest motive for children's fire-setting, which confirms suggestions made by Stekel and Melanie Klein (quoted by Yarnell l. c.)

* The pleasure in producing a great amount of noise, the more the better, by whistles, trumpets, explosives, or simply by yelling and shouting, may have partly a similar significance for children and, to the discomfort of more sensitive ears, also for many adults.

faction try to assert themselves in this magical way, outside the usual channels of social, competitive self-assertion.*

Fire-setting, by folklore and science, has often been brought in connection with urinating and bed-wetting. Without wanting to go into a discussion of Freud's theory,* that the connection consists in the impulse to put fire out with urine, I would like to offer some suggestions brought to mind by the particular quality of our fire-setters' affective reactions. Urinating not only may satisfy, as Freud has emphasized, masculine vanity and ambition; it also provides the pleasure to *let go*, to release the stream of liquid which had to be held back before. In setting fire there may be a parallel pleasure of letting go something which had to be held back, to be suppressed. It would not be necessary, then, to assume that fires are set for the pleasure of extinguishing them with water (urine). The act of fire-setting itself, as the flames take hold and roar up, may provide a very similar pleasure of letting go all holds as the act of urinating. But the parallelism between the pleasures of fire-setting and of urinating goes further. It is probably even more important that water is as mighty an element as fire; and the stream of water coming out of a hose, or the stream of urine, is part and image of this mighty element *directed at will by man*. Also, the fact that water extinguishes fire is accepted by us as a matter of course; yet, when first perceived and to those who have retained the child's capacity for astonishment and wonder, this fact appears as a miracle, as a quite magical event. Thus, the pleasure in extinguishing fire by water, so frequent in fire-setters and fire-men, may be based on a similar feeling of wielding *magical power* as the pleasure in fire-setting. Finally, the *destructive* impulse in fire-setting also finds its parallel in putting fire out with water. This may be difficult to realize since we are accustomed to think of the extinction of fire by water in rational and material terms of preventing danger and damage, so that fire appears as the destructive force, and the water with which fire is extinguished as the beneficent element which prevents further destruction. However, if we set aside every utilitarian consideration and think merely of the emotional experience of putting fire out with water, in terms of the pleasure this act may provide to the fire-setter, the picture is quite different. The flames are something living, moving, vivid. When the water hits them they hiss and die. In

* The fire-setter's experience has much in common with getting drunk. Probably there are significant relations between fire-setting and alcoholism.

* (8), p. 50/1, footnote.

directing the stream of water (urine) on the moving, bright, and living flame and in feeling and seeing how it cries (hisses), is overcome, and finally destroyed, there may be much of the destructive and sadistic pleasure which children feel in torturing and killing small animals. Paradoxical, as it may seem, fire-setting and putting fire out with water probably give very much the same kinds of pleasure and release. These remarks may serve to clarify some of the close connections "between the ideas of ambition, fire, and urethral erotism" of which Freud has spoken (l. c.).

That all these ideas are also closely connected with sexual phantasies and satisfactions can hardly be doubted. There is the symbolical identity of urine and semen, there is the phantasy of magic power in begetting (rape), and there is the orgasmic experience of letting go which is similar to the immersion in an affect, so characteristic of our group of fire-setters.

Finally, the combination of fear and attraction (impulse), frequent in our fire-setters and reflected in some cases in an "ambivalent" avoidance of red and fascination by red, provides the particular satisfaction of the "thrill." Seen from this angle, the fire-setter takes a plunge, he overcomes his fear in the thrilling immersion in his affect and experiences a grandiose spectacle of which he is the powerful master.

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88 Morningside Drive
New York, (27) N. Y.

CRIMINALITY AND THE AGE FACTOR

A. A. HARTMAN

Psychologist, Psychiatric Department, Cook County Juvenile Court*

PAUL L. SCHROEDER

Superintendent, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago

In 1936, the senior author reported a preliminary investigation of criminal behavior among older offenders⁽¹⁾ and also reviewed the sparse scientific literature on this subject. During the subsequent period there has been an increasing interest in the problems of age which is demonstrated by the recent establishment of a research Unit on Gerontology in the U. S. Public Health Service and by the publication of the comprehensive volume *Problems of Aging*, edited by E. V. Cowdry. In criminology this emphasis is notably illustrated by the work of the Gluecks. Their *Later Criminal Careers*,⁽²⁾ appearing in 1937, pointing out that the factor of maturation through aging is "the most significant of sixty-three factors in the process of reformation."

The present study attempts a further detailed analysis of the criminality of different age groups, based upon the results of professional studies of 4,188 prisoners. This number represents the total of native-born white offenders received at the Joliet Penitentiary, Diagnostic Depot, during the five-year period, 1934 to 1939. The selection of native whites, only, was designed to control the complex factors of race and foreign birth which present special problems in this field. Our analysis utilizes quantitative information on personality type, intelligence, degree of criminality, and type of crime considered in relation to three main age divisions: fifteen to twenty-four, twenty-five to thirty-nine, and forty years or over.

* Psychologist, Illinois Division of the Criminologist, at the time these data were gathered.

(1) Schroeder, Paul D.: "Criminal Behavior in the Later Period of Life," *Amer. Journ. of Psychiatry*, 92, 915-924, Jan. 1936.

(2) Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor T.: *Later Criminal Careers*. The Commonwealth Fund, N. Y., 1937.

RESULTS

(1) *Personality Type*

A detailed personality study of each new prisoner received at the Diagnostic Depot is made by the psychiatrist. On the basis of this study, it has also been the practice to express in a brief term the prisoner's predominant personality type. The following categories (which have since been modified) were consistently employed during the period of this study: Egocentric, Inadequate, Unstable, No Gross Personality Defect, and Psychopathic Personality.

Table I presents the distribution by age groups of the 4,188 prisoners classified according to these personality types. A number of interesting results are revealed; for example, the percentage classified as Egocentric is practically the same for both youngest and oldest offenders. Older individuals are generally considered to be more egocentric. This is not borne out here for these total groups although, as shown later, it is true for certain classes of older offenders.

TABLE I

*Personality Types of Native-White Offenders
According to Age Groups*

PERSONALITY TYPE	AGE GROUP		
	15-24 %	25-39 %	40 - Over %
Egocentric	31.4	28.8	31.5
Inadequate	48.3	47.5	41.3
Unstable	11.3	13.6	11.9
N. G. P. D.*	6.3	5.1	4.3
Psychopathic Personality	2.7	5.0	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	2274	1486	428

The psychiatric classification of Inadequate Personality does not disclose any significant differentiation between the three age groups. Possibly the usual interpretation of this category disguises such differences since there may be a tendency to include younger offenders on the basis of a general immaturity characteristic of the age-level rather than

* No Gross Personality Defect

of a basic personality pattern. Then, too, the older offender group includes more mental defectives whom psychiatrists are prone to classify as Inadequate because intellectual limitations are considered as one basis for inadequacy. The equivalence in proportion of Unstable cases in the three age-groups is also surprising since it contradicts prevalent psychiatric opinion regarding the instability of youthful offenders. It would appear from these figures that instability per se is not an important differentiating element in the anti-social behavior of various age groups.

The remaining two categories, No Gross Personality Defect and Psychopathic Personality, are especially significant since they represent the two extremes of deviation within the range of normal personality (the Psychopathic Personality group, however, includes a few prisoners found to be actually psychotic upon admittance). The trend revealed here towards a slight decrease in the proportion of older prisoners without gross personality faults is confirmed by the sharp increase in psychopathic personality for the older age groups.

(2) Intelligence Levels

Table II shows the distribution of intelligence for the three age groups. These figures are based upon the standard psychological examinations given to all penitentiary admissions. The lower intelligence levels are diagnosed by means of individual tests such as the Stanford-Binet or the Arthur Performance Scale. Higher levels of intelligence are determined mainly by means of the group Army Alpha.

TABLE II
Distribution of Intelligence of Prisoners by Age Groups

INTELLIGENCE LEVEL	AGE GROUP		
	15-24 %	25-39 %	40 - Over %
Very Superior	7.6	10.8	7.2
Superior	22.3	23.8	23.2
Average	47.2	41.3	36.2
Dull	16.4	15.6	17.3
Borderline	5.1	6.6	12.2
Mental Defective	1.4	1.9	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	2274	1486	428
Average I. Q.	101.21	101.83	98.18
S. D.	15.04	15.31	15.69

No significant differences between the three age groups are apparent at the Very Superior or Superior levels of intelligence. The most marked disparity is found in the proportion of intellectually defective older individuals. The age group over forty contains relatively about twice as many cases at the lowest intelligence levels as the other age groups. The average IQ drops sharply with age which is accounted for largely by this difference at the Borderline and Mental Defective levels. This phenomenon of a decrease in average test performance with age is, however, true also of the general population, as Jones and Conrad⁽³⁾ have pointed out. The increased variability indicated here by the larger standard deviations for older offenders has also been observed to characterize older individuals in civil life.

(3) Type of Offense

A comparison of the three age-groups according to the type of crime committed is presented in Table III. Only a few general offenses are examined; larceny, for example, includes fraud and embezzlement; murder includes attempted murder and manslaughter. Categories of this kind are unavoidably arbitrary. As is well known, offense titles are occasionally altered in the legal process. Some larceny cases, for example, represent original charges of robbery or burglary which were reduced during trial because of judicial leniency or pleas of guilty. Even a specific offense such a murder presents instances of totally divergent motivation and behavior. The large number of cases considered here, however, reveals general trends which appear significant.

TABLE III
Percentage Frequencies of Types of Crime According to Age Groups

TYPE OF CRIME	AGE GROUP		
	15-24	25-39	40 - Over
	%	%	%
Robbery	40.9	33.3	11.0
Larceny	38.9	35.7	43.7
Burglary	9.94	12.7	9.6
Murder	4.5	7.0	10.0
Sex	4.9	9.2	22.9
Miscellaneous	.9	2.1	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	2274	1486	428

(3) Jones, H. E., and Conrad, H. S.: "The Growth and Decline of Intelligence." *Genetic Psychol. Monog.*, 13, 298 pp., 1933.

As the previous study also pointed out, the robbery cases decrease in frequency with age. Some authorities attribute this to a decline in physical aggressiveness accompanying aging. Prison psychiatrists consider, too, that aggressiveness is closely associated with egocentricity, in view of which it is interesting to remark again that the oldest offender group contains as many Egocentric cases as the youngest.

No significant differences between the three age-groups are indicated for the larceny offenses. The term, larceny covers a wide variety of felonies, which may possibly obscure relationships between specific offenses and age; for example, fraud and embezzlement, which are classified under larceny, are characteristically committed by older offenders. The next listed type of offense, burglary, interestingly enough, shows almost identical proportions for both the youngest and oldest age groups. This is in conflict with the belief expressed by many criminologists that burglary, since it calls for physical agility, is characteristic of younger offenders.⁽⁴⁾ One explanation for the contradiction is the possibility that many of the older burglary offenders are originally robbers who have turned to this comparatively less aggressive offense. As shown later, burglars over forty are recidivists in greater proportion than is true of the same age-group in any other type of crime. Perhaps this reflects a sequence from robbery to burglary as suggested in Sutherland's theory that criminals go through a process of maturation proceeding from physically active types of crime to the more sedentary one.

Offenses of violence or offenses against persons increase with age. This is suggested in the figures for the murder group and is strikingly demonstrated for the sex offenses. Here sex crimes by men over forty are more than four times as frequent as in the youngest age group. It is pertinent to repeat Hamilton's⁽⁵⁾ contention that the aging person is tormented by impulses of a socially dangerous type, particularly sex urges, due to a "lessening of the repressive strength of the ego."

(4) Degree of Criminality

Information about the previous criminal activity of these offenders is recorded in the history obtained by the sociologist and is verified by correspondence and by reports from the Federal Bureau of Identification. A five-point scale of increasing criminal record was employed;

⁽⁴⁾ Reckless, Walter C.: *Criminal Behavior*, McGraw-Hill Co., N. Y., 1940, p. 104.

⁽⁵⁾ Hamilton, G. V.: "Changes in Personality and Psychosexual Phenomena with Age," Chapter 16 in *Problems of Aging*, ed. by E. V. Cowdry, Williams and Wilkins Co., Baltimore, 1939.

this objective method has been found to agree very closely with sociological estimates of degree of recidivism or habitual criminality.⁽⁶⁾

The Minor Record group here includes any case without a previous prison or reformatory record in which one or more of the following notations occurred: juvenile correctional school, chain gang, prison farm, probation, suspended sentence, or jail.

TABLE IV
Previous Criminal Records of Offenders by Age

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL RECORD	AGE GROUP		
	15-24 %	25-39 %	40 - Over %
None	14.5	12.6	21.3
Arrests Only	15.2	15.4	22.2
Minor Record	54.0	30.8	19.1
One Prison	13.9	28.8	14.5
Two Prisons or Over	2.4	12.4	22.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Cases	2274	1486	428

As Table IV demonstrates, there are distinct differences in the criminal background of the various age groups. The oldest offenders have the highest proportions at both extremes, i. e., no record whatsoever and a record of two or more previous prison terms. The youngest prisoners have the highest proportion with minor records; relatively few of them had had previous prison terms, although the majority, it would appear, had had some fairly serious legal encounter previous to the offense for which they were committed to prison.

Obviously, there are different "exposure" periods for younger and older individuals. In spite of this time factor, the total number of recidivists (defined as having any previous prison or reformatory record) in the middle age-group is greater than in the age-group over forty. A comparison of similar age-periods in the criminal life history of a large number of individual cases would probably be more revealing of the dynamics of habitual criminality.

⁽⁶⁾ Hartman, A. A.: "Recidivism and Intelligence," *Jour. Crim. Law and Criminology*, 31, p. 424, Nov.-Dec., 1940.

(5) *Personality and Type of Offense*

In this and the following sections, some general observations are drawn from a cross-analysis of the factors already discussed. The tables on which these are based are quite detailed and will not be presented in full.

A study of the personality classifications as related to type of offense and age reveals certain trends. A greater relative number of robbers are classified as Egocentric while burglars present a smaller proportion in this classification regardless of age-groups. In the larceny category, those below forty are less egocentric than the average (i. e., the average for all offenders in comparable age-groups) while those over forty are decidedly more egocentric. In the murder and sex categories, the youngest offenders are slightly more egocentric than the average, while the two older groups in both offenses (but particularly sex) are less egocentric.

The personality classification of Inadequate appears most characteristic of burglars and sex offenders and least characteristic of murderers, regardless of age-group. Robbers over forty and larcenists below forty have a higher relative frequency of Inadequates. Classification of Unstable are relatively greatest in the murder group and fewest in larceny, regardless of age. Diagnoses of Psychopathic Personality are least characteristic of robbery and larceny and most characteristic of sex offenses, regardless of age. A much higher relative proportion of psychopaths are found in the fifteen to twenty-five age-group of murder. As for the remaining personality classification, No Gross Personality Fault, not a single instance appeared in the robbery, burglary, or murder cases over forty, while 8.2 per cent of the older larceny offenders were considered to be without gross personality defects.

6. *Intelligence and Type of Offense*

A comparison was made of the intelligence distributions for different types of offenses. In the robbery category all three age-groups have approximately the same proportions of definitely retarded (below 80 I. Q.) cases; the oldest group, however, has a much greater number of dull and slightly retarded (80 to 90 I. Q.) individuals and at the same time fewer at the upper intelligence levels. The twenty-five to thirty-nine age group has the highest proportion of individuals of very superior intelligence.

In the larceny offenses the middle and oldest age-groups have a very similar distribution of intelligence, with considerably more cases at the higher levels than are found for the youngest group. This is the only type of offense in which prisoners over forty have a higher average IQ than those below forty. The explanation for this is that many larceny offenses such as confidence game and embezzlement are usually committed by mature men with superior ability.

The burglary offenders, on the contrary, show a distinct shift in distribution of intelligence towards the lower levels. Only 4.9 per cent of the oldest group of burglars are above 120 IQ as compared with 8.5 per cent of burglars between twenty-five and thirty-nine, and 8.4 per cent of those below twenty-five years of age. Also 19.5 per cent of the oldest burglars are classified as Borderline (70-79 IQ) or definite Mental Defectives (below 70 IQ), while only 8.4 per cent and 7.5 per cent, respectively, in the middle and youngest age groups are so classified.

The intelligence distribution of sex offenders varies considerably from one age group to another. The proportion of Mental Defectives is almost the same for all ages, but an increase is found in the proportion of Borderline cases from youngest to oldest groups. There are also fewer of very superior intelligence over forty and the median IQ of the oldest sex offenders is reliably lower than that of the younger groups. Sex offenders in each age group have a lower average IQ than that of comparable age groups in any of the other offenses.

In the murder category the most notable finding is the marked increase in proportion of Borderline and Mental Defectives with age. The murder group over forty contains four times as many at these retarded levels as the youngest age-group and almost three times as many as the twenty-five to thirty-nine age-group. The average IQ drops consistently from youngest to oldest groups.

(7) Type of Offense and Recidivism

An analysis was made of the age factor as related to type of offense and recidivism. Persons who commit murder or sex offenses are found to be predominantly without previous prison record, regardless of age. Also, in all types of offense, over 80 per cent of those in the youngest age-group are first offenders. Most robbers between twenty-five and thirty-nine are recidivists (71 per cent) while those over forty are almost equally recidivists and first offenders. Another interesting finding is that burglars over forty have a higher proportion of recidivists (66

per cent) than similar age-groups in any other offense, while sex offenders over forty have the lowest (18 per cent). There is comparatively little increase in recidivism among murder and sex offenders with age. Sex offenders in each age-group contain a lower proportion of recidivists than is true of any other offense category. It is clear from these results that generalizations about the recidivism of certain types of offenders are invalid unless the factor of age has been considered.

DISCUSSION

Perhaps the main contribution of this study to the problems of age in relation to criminality lies in the attempt to control the number of variable factors involved. Previous related studies have dealt with heterogeneous samples and have made little effort to separate the influence of the foreign-born and Negro groups upon the factors discussed here. The present paper, however, deals with a relatively homogenous group, racially, which otherwise represents a total sample of the admissions to a large penitentiary for a five-year period. Furthermore, the original data and records were accumulated under conditions of unusual uniformity for the professional staff of the prison.

The method used here may be contrasted with the Gluecks' longitudinal approach which follows individual cases over a long period of time. Ours is the more usual cross-sectional analysis which examines a given group of individuals at one point in their careers. This type of analysis possesses a certain advantage over the obviously more difficult longitudinal studies. The advantage lies simply in the historical fact that the various sciences now comprehended in professional criminology have undergone their major development only within the past twenty-five years. Long-time studies dealing with professional data are therefore certain to run into serious conflicts of practice and terminology in spite of the recognized superiority of this research method.

No one could, of course, minimize the major importance of the Gluecks' work. Objections can be raised, however, to some of their theoretical conclusions. In their most recent reports⁽⁷⁾ of the careers of 1,000 delinquent boys they have attempted to develop a complex concept of "maturation," a process which "in varying degrees accompanies aging (and) when aided by certain favorable factors, largely accounts for the improvement which has occurred in the conduct of our

(7) Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor T.: *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up*, The Commonwealth Fund, N. Y., 1940.

offenders." Apparently they have drawn an analogy from the field of child development where the importance of intrinsic maturation has been increasingly stressed. The validity of the concept of maturation as applied to criminal development is at least open to question in the light of the results obtained here.

If we may generalize from our findings it appears that four fairly distinct types of older offenders are differentiated:

- (1) first offenders of normal personality and intelligence, whose offenses are often accidental or circumstantial;
- (2) first offenders of unstable or psychopathic personality make-up and with a high proportion of mental retardates, whose crimes tend towards murder and sex offenses;
- (3) recidivists of slightly higher than average intelligence and tending towards an egocentric personality make-up, whose offenses are predominantly of the predatory type;
- (4) recidivists of slightly lowered intelligence and tendency towards the inadequate personality make-up, whose typical offense is burglary.

As a matter of fact, none of these types corresponds closely to that predicted from the Gluecks' theory. According to their theory, continued criminality represents a failure to achieve maturity, largely because of mental abnormalities; one would therefore expect to find that the older recidivist groups are over-weighted with mental deviates. It is true that our total group contains a greater proportion of intellectually retarded and psychopathic offenders at the older ages, but the striking fact is that these mental deviates are predominantly first offenders of a non-predatory type. Most offenders who actually have led criminal careers are, except possibly in the burglary group, of fairly average mental make-up. It must also be remembered that an increased incidence of mental disease and a lowering of intelligence test performance are known to accompany aging generally. There is no evidence that the frequency of such deviations in our prison group is any greater than in comparable age samples of the general population.

The pervasiveness of age as an influence in anti-social behavior is re-affirmed by these findings. Certain generalizations current in criminology are demonstrated to be faulty when the age factor is controlled. This type of analytic study is valuable primarily in pointing out those factor relationships in which age appears significant.

SUMMARY

A detailed analysis was made of the significance of age in the criminality of a group of 4,188 native white prisoners. The results of psychiatric, psychological, and sociological examinations were utilized, with particular reference to data on personality type, intelligence, type of offense, and recidivism. Three main age-groups were compared: fifteen to twenty-four, twenty-five to thirty-nine, and forty years or over. Some of the principal results follow:

1. The proportion of prisoners diagnosed as Egocentric or unstable is practically the same for both youngest and oldest groups, but a much greater percentage of the oldest offenders are in the Psychopathic Personality classification.
2. There is a constant drop in average IQ with age, which is reflected in an increase in the relative frequency of Borderline Defectives and Mental Defectives among older prisoners.
3. The frequency of different types of crime varies with age; murder and sex offenses increase with age, while robbery decreases; burglary, contrary to common belief, is frequent relatively for offenders over forty as for those below twenty-five years of age.
4. The oldest age group has the highest proportions at both extremes of criminality, i. e., no record whatsoever and a record of two or more previous prison terms; of the youngest offenders, over fifty per cent have records of previous misdemeanors or legal encounters of minor degree.
5. Certain personality classifications predominate in given offenses independent of age; thus, burglars and sex offenders are characteristically Inadequate; sex offenders, alone, Psychopathic; murderers, Unstable; robbers, Egocentric. Other characteristic classifications are associated with age differences; for example, older larceny offenders tend to be Egocentric.
6. The intelligence distributions for different types of offense vary considerably with age; thus, larceny offenders over forty have a higher average IQ than younger offenders in this category, while in all other types of crime the older offenders tend to be lower in intelligence; among sex offenders and murderers over forty there is a particularly marked increase in the incidence of severe intellectual retardation.

7. The frequency of recidivism varies with type of offense and with age; in the twenty-five to thirty-nine age-group the robbers are most recidivistic, while in the group over forty more of the burglars are recidivists; sex offenders show least recidivism regardless of age.

8. A finding which runs directly contrary to the Gluecks' theory of "maturation" in criminality is the fact that at the older ages those who are intellectually retarded or psychopathic are predominantly first offenders.

Special Article

WAR, CRIME AND THE COVENANT

Géza Róheim, Ph. D.

New York, N. Y.

PART II. WAR AND THE BLOOD FEUD*

3. The Oedipus Complex

We have seen how from the nature of the dual-unity organization we can deduce a series of successive identifications and disidentifications, (aggressions) which find their social expression in primitive war customs. Other aspects of primitive warfare can be explained on basis of the Oedipus complex.⁽¹⁾

The mourners having "killed" the dead in their unconscious phantasies now identify themselves with him and in turning their aggression against themselves are really repeating the deed when they seem to be atoning for it. When the aggression becomes extroverted the mourning period ends—now they repeat the deed not by wounding themselves but by finding another person to kill in a neighboring tribe.

However this is not all. The blood avengers, par excellence, in Central Australia are the *gammona*, the sons-in-law of the dead man. A young man in Central Australia is up against the opposition of his future father-in-law when he sets out to get a wife. For the father it is always too soon for his daughter to get married and very often he punishes his would-be son-in-law with a knife or spear. Among the Nambutji the father-in-law has actually to be "appeased" by the son-in-law becoming his "boy-wife" before he can get the daughter. Moreover

* Part I appeared in the April issue and the first half of Part II in the July issue of *The Journal*.

(1) Cf. for the psychoanalytic point of view on war, S. Freud, *Warum Krieg?* (Internationales Institut für Geistige Zusammenarbeit, Völkerbund) 1933. E. Glover, *War, Sadism and Pacifism*. London, 1933. R. Waelder, *Psychological Aspects of War and Peace*. (Geneva Studies, Vol. X, No. 2.) 1939. On head-hunting and primitive warfare cf. M. Bonaparte, *Die Symbolik der Kopftrophäen*. 1928. H. S. Darlington "The Meaning of Head Hunting" *The Psychoanalytic Review*, XXVI, 1939, p. 55-68. M. Weigl-Pisk "Zur Psychologie der Todfeindschaft" *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und Imago*, XXV, p. 214-220. O. Fenichel, *Über Trophäe und Triumph*, *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und Imago*, XXIV, p. 258. G. Róheim, "Nach den Tode des Urvaters" *Imago*, IX, p. 83.

in the puberty ritual the role of the father-in-law is actually the same as that of the father and uncle. The father-in-law is the circumciser, so that we have all the elements of the Oedipus complex (rivalry for a woman, fighting with older man, castration anxiety) acted out on a father substitute. The son-in-law being the man who is most likely to wish his father-in-law's death he is the one who must deny this by leading the revenge expedition, identify himself with the father-in-law in the *kur urkna* (hair string) ritual and finally repeat the deed by killing an enemy with whom he then reidentifies himself. In the dreams of Yirramba banga the blood avenger theme is clearly identical with the father-son theme. (Own field notes.)

Kuiamo, the great war hero of the Torres Strait Islands and of the Kiwai Papuans first cuts off his mother's head with his beheading knife and then he exterminates all Mabuia and Badu to "pay" for his mother's death and collects their heads.⁽¹⁾

In another Kiwai myth the first head taken by the originators of head hunting is that of their maternal uncle.⁽²⁾ These myths shows how aggression is first aimed at a representative of the parental *images* and then projected beyond the frontier. The Wa in Indo-China believe that they have to kill a stranger to expiate the family spirit, Thlen, whom they also call their maternal uncle. If the Thlen is not fed by this sacrifice he tortures and kills the members of the family with whom he lives.⁽³⁾

The Marind-anim are one of the outstanding head-hunting tribes of New Guinea. The mythical origin of head-hunting is given in the myth of Nazr of the boar totem.

The ancestor of the swine totem was called Nazr and lived as a human being during the day-time. At night he took the shape of a pig and invaded the plantations. So they made a trap and they caught and killed the pig. But as it was a totem pig by the time they had killed it the spirit of course escaped and lived on in the shape of the man Nazr. He comes, unrecognized, to the feast where he himself in the shape of a boar is being slaughtered. He refuses the meat but takes all the bones

(1) Landtman, G., "The Folk-Tales of the Kiwai Papuans," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* Tomus, XLVII, 1917, Pgs. 152-155. Hadden, A. C., "Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders," *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition*, V, 1904, Pg. 71.

(2) Landtman, *ibid*, Pgs. 72, 73.

(3) Heine-Geldern "Kopfjagd und Menschenopfern in Assam und Birma" *Mitteilungen der Anthropologisch Gesellschaft in Wien*, XXXXVII, 1917, Pg. 33, quotes Allen, *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. IV, Assam, Part I, Pg. 49.

and the skull which he fits together in the shape of a complete skeleton and then covers it with grass. Out of the grass came two animals, a boar and a sow. They attacked the people of the village and while running away from them the people also started to imitate them and they became boars and sows themselves. Other tribes hear what has happened and attack the village of evil pigs but a huge totem boar bites the invader into two pieces. Nazr now takes one of the human pigs and gives the young boy to his concubines (iwag) to take care of. The young boy (or pig) has intercourse with the girls and they decide to kill him and eat him. Nazr then "married" (had intercourse with) the girls, first, however, he had to kill their maternal uncles. At the ritual a little pig that has been taken care of by a girl is killed and the representative of the pig totem has intercourse with the girl. In the myth the pig is represented as a gigantic animal. When Nazr kills it and cuts it to pieces the blood squirts up to the clouds and produces the first rainbow. After killing the four uncles Nazr kills the pig and then marries the girl. After various other adventures Nazr meets an old female ghost. He asks her for some fish but she gives the good ones to her children and he gets the bad ones. This makes him so angry that he sets fire to her hut and all the children perish. The ghost gathers the bones, transforms herself into a dog and carries the bones in a basket to Nazr. The bones become boys again and at the same time also lightning. Now Nazr undertakes a head hunting expedition with his boys in the shape of lightning, and the boys kill the people while he cuts their heads off. He says that before he cuts their heads off he must find out their names, otherwise he whole thing has no purpose. Whatever they say when their head is cut off is regarded as the name.⁽¹⁾ The explanation given by this tribe for the custom of head-hunting was, "We must give our children names. The dying man was asked for his name and this name was given to a newborn child."⁽²⁾

A young pig-man is brought up by a girl, he becomes a young man and has intercourse with his foster-mother. The boar-hero then kills him and keeps the woman. The Oedipus content of this story is perfectly obvious; the specific feature is the alternating trend between father and son roles. Although the juvenile character of the animal is emphasized, by the time we get to the killing it is a monster of cosmic pro-

(1) Wirz, P., "Die Marind-anim von Holländisch-Süd-Neu-Guinea," *Hamburgische Universität Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde*, X, 1922, I, Part II, Pgs. 170-177.

(2) Wirz, *Die Marind-anim*, II, Pg. 49.

portions. Nazr is described as a young unmarried man and his ritual representative is called *Divazib*, really *Dè hé vaai zib*, i. e., "Son of the Father who Kills." It seems however that Nazr is really another name for "The Father who Kills," the spirit of the Mayo-rites.⁽¹⁾ The giant boar at the beginning of the myth is therefore the Primal Father and the identification with the totem animal occurs after the death of the Primal Father. The meeting with the female ghost also follows the Oedipus pattern. The female ghost favors her children against the totem-hero who thereupon kills the children. These children become the lightning demons of the first head-hunting raid. When an enemy is killed and the child is named after the enemy it is evident he is identifying his son with the enemy, or abreacting his hostility against the son by killing a member of a foreign tribe.

In Vella Lavella (Melanesia) a chief is often succeeded by a captive taken during a head hunting expedition⁽²⁾ thus showing the identification of the dead chief and the victim of the head hunting or avenging rite. The maxim of the Kayans is that out of their country (i. e. on a head hunting trip) all is fair game. "*Were we to meet our father we would slay him.*"⁽³⁾

If the decapitated head of the enemy represents the father we can easily understand the main features of the whole head hunting and war complex. If the head symbolizes the father, it is obvious that it would be a protecting genius of the tribe. Herodot reports that the Taurians cut off their enemies head, and then believe that these impaled skulls protect the dwellings of their erstwhile murderers.⁽⁴⁾ Among the Dyaks "On shore and in the village the head for months after its arrival is treated with the greatest consideration and all the names and terms of endearment of which their language is capable are abundantly lavished on it: The most dainty morsels are thrust into its mouth and it is instructed to hate its former friends and that now having been formally adopted into the tribe of its captors its spirit must always be with them. Sirih leaves and betelnut are given to it and finally a cigar is frequently placed between the ghastly and pallid lips."⁽⁵⁾

The custom of head hunting and preserving them as a sign of power and success belongs to the Solomon Islands generally. When a chief in

(1) Wirz, *op. cit.*, I, Part II, Pg. 169.

(2) Rivers, W. H. R., *The History of Melanesian Society*, II, 1914, Pg. 100.

(3) Roth, H. L., *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, II, 1896, Pg. 159.

(4) Herodotus, IV, Pg. 103.

Wilken, G. A., *De Verspreide Geschriften*, IV, 1912, Pg. 49.

(5) Roth, L. H., *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, 1896, II, Pg. 170.

the exercise of his authority had a man killed for an offence or had him murdered out of revenge or hatred or for a sacrifice he added the head to his collection. It was a sign of his power and greatness. Hence the more heads he could show the more his power was in view of the fact that he was ready on every occasion and on any pretext to take a life and a head. When a chief had a man killed he would keep the head but send the legs and arms to his neighbors to show what he had done.⁽¹⁾ The Angami Nagas pour a drink on the enemy's head saying, "Let my enemy be lazy and sleepy and let creepers make him fall and let me kill him with my spears."⁽²⁾ In a symbolic form we see the same idea among the Naga tribes of Manipur. The headman was building himself a new house and to strengthen it he seized a man and forcibly cut off a lock of his hair which was buried under the main post of the house. In olden days the whole head would have been put there. The ghost would go there and seek the missing lock and be forever compelled to remain under the post.⁽³⁾ The version that the ghost of the dead man will be a slave of the killer in the other world,⁽⁴⁾ is a sub-variety of this concept of enemy ghost as protector or helper.

Another important function of the head is that it brings fertility to fields and women alike. Dyak feasts to "make the rice grow well, to cause the forest to abound with wild animals, to enable their dogs and snares to be successful in securing game, to give health and activity to the people themselves and to insure fertility of their women. All these blessings, the possessing and feasting of a fresh head was supposed to be the most efficient way of securing."⁽⁵⁾ There is a very general superstition among the Agamis and Semas that to kill a human being and place a small portion of the flesh in the murderer's field is a specific to insure a good crop.⁽⁶⁾ Some tribes in Assam have a head hunting season in March and April when a fresh skull has to be secured to get good crops.⁽⁷⁾

Certain stones of phallic origin bring fertility and the close connection between stones and enemy heads is noticeable. The Lhota hangs a head on a sacred tree under which the fertility stones of the village are

(1) Codrington, R. H., *The Melanesians*, 1921, Pg. 240.

(2) Hodson, J. C., *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911, Pg. 116.

(3) Hodson, J. C., *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911, Pg. 116.

(4) Shakespear, *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, 1912, Pg. 64. Heine Geldern "Kopfjagd" *Mitteilungen der Anthrop. Gesellschaft in Wien*, XXXVII, 1917, Pg. 10.

(5) Roth, H. L., *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, 1896, II, Pg. 143.

(6) Hutton, J. H., *The Angami Nagas*, 1921, 160-161.

(7) Heine Geldern "Kopfjagd und Menschenopfer in Assam und Birma." *Mitteilungen der Anthrop. Gesellschaft in Wien*. XXXVII, 1917, Pg. 5.

kept. The Aos made offerings to a head to appease it and encourage it to call its relations to be killed. At every harvest it was smeared with rice, flour and a prayer was offered over it. Heads hung up in Chang and Konjak villages often have pairs of horns fastened to them. The horns are probably symbols of fertility.⁽¹⁾ The head as a fertility symbol has the same significance as the tjurunga in Central Australia. The Aranda and other tribes believe that children originate from the tjurunga, i. e. from the body of an ancestor. This is equivalent to saying that a mere mortal can never be a father. In the case of the head hunters the heads they take are endowed with the same paternal functions.⁽²⁾

The third outstanding feature of the head hunting complex is that it functions as an initiation rite.

In describing the causes of war in the Sema country Hutton says:

"The third cause is found in the fits of restlessness that from time to time afflict most Naga villages, the desire of the young men as yet untried to prove their manhood and gain the right of wearing the warrior's gauntlets and boar's tusk collar all culminating in the overwhelming desire to get somebody's head which not infrequently outweighs all riper considerations of policy and prudence."⁽³⁾ Among the Kiwai when an enemy has been disabled by a warrior the latter sometimes does not kill him himself but calls some young relation to come and administer the death blow so as to teach the young man how to do it. After the enemy body has been placed with the head in the direction of the rising sun the maternal uncle or the father posts himself astride over that of the prostrate body. The boy has to crawl on top of the dying man between his uncles legs. The uncle or father places a certain medicine in the hand of the wounded enemy. Holding that hand in his own he touches the forehead of the doomed man with the medicine which he then makes the boy swallow. This causes the boy to be a successful warrior for ever after. When the head of a slain enemy is being cut off the uncle or father smears the boy's face with some of the blood and says, "Next time you come fight you kill him man yourself."⁽⁴⁾ Success in head hunting in Manipur was regarded as more or less a pre-requisite of marriage and as a token of having passed from adolescence to maturity.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Mills, I. P., "Certain Aspects of Naga Culture," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1926, LVI, Pgs. 34, 35. Cf. M. Bonaparte, *Die Symbolik der Kopftrophäen*, 1928.

(2) Cf. also T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911, Pg. 120. Hose and McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, II, 1912, Pgs. 138, 139.

(3) Hutton, I. H., *The Sema Nagas*, 1921, Pg. 167.

(4) Landtman, G., *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea*, 1927, Pg. 160.

(5) Hodson, J. C., *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911, Pg. 121.

When a Mabuiag man had killed another in a fight and had cut off his head and let the dripping blood fall into his mouth he would also give some to the young man who accompanied him but who had not yet killed his man, saying, "You do not know how to fight. You will drink it and it will give you strong heart." Tutu men also drank the sweat of renowned warriors and ate the scrapings from their nails which had become saturated with blood in order to gain courage. In Nagir a warrior took the eye and the tongue of a man he had killed and after mincing them and mixing them with his urine he gave the compound to the young men to give them courage. The warrior stood up behind the sitting youth and putting the head of the latter between his legs would feed him.⁽¹⁾

In these cases where head hunting is connected with the boy drinking the enemy's blood we find an instructive analogy to Australian initiation rites where the boy drinks the blood of the "fathers" of his own tribe. The position in which the food is given with its suggestion of the boy being "fed" from the penis makes the analogy even closer.⁽²⁾ Ling Roth describes the custom in Sarawak and British Borneo as follows:

"From all accounts there can be little doubt that one of the chief incentives to getting heads is the desire to please the women." "It was absolutely necessary to be the possessor of one head previous to marriage and if a man wanted to get married and could not procure an enemy's head he accompanied a party of perhaps 50 or a hundred men a long way into the interior and then attacked anybody for the sake of the head." Captain Mundy writes, "No aristocratic youth dare venture to pay his addresses to a Dyak demoiselle unless he throws at the blushing maiden's feet a net full of skulls."⁽³⁾

The story of a young boy named Achang is very characteristic. He was in love with a Dayak girl but as he had never proved himself a warrior she said, "Why don't you go to the Saribus Fort and take there the head of the chief and then I will deign to think of you and your desire with some degree of interest." The sequel of the story is how he (or rather his companion) kills a Chinaman in whose house they have found shelter, thinking that if well cooked the head could be passed off for

(1) A. C. Haddon, Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits, 1904, V, 301, 302.

Cf. G. Roheim, *The Riddle of the Sphinx*, 1934.

(3) Roth, H. L., *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, 1896, II, Pgs. 163, 164

anybody else's.⁽¹⁾ A head hunting expedition was started by the Dayak either because somebody had been slain and revenge was called for or else they wished to put off their mourning and for that required a human head taken in war. Or they may have intended to build a new village house and so required human heads as offerings to the spirits of the land or possibly the chief wished to marry and wanted the head as a proof of his valour in the eyes of his lady-love.⁽²⁾

A mourning period is terminated by an avenging expedition. The victim of this avenging expedition is identified with the dead man whose death they are avenging. The guilt felt in connection with the dead is derived from the Oedipus situation and the victim of the blood feud with whom they subsequently identify themselves, represents the father. This is especially clear in the head hunting variety of the blood feud. The captured head becomes a protecting genius of the clan—but a protecting genius of a servile and subordinate nature, a father who has been conquered and relegated to a son role. The familiar dream mechanism of displacement upwards explains the fertility significance of the head. Finally if a man is only regarded as a real man when he has brought a head this would mean that he has dared to kill a father representative and has emancipated himself from paternal domination.

One reason for identifying the enemy with the father lies in the mechanism of projection. Fathers can manage to be "good" if there is somebody who can play the role of the "bad" father. However there is probably also another psychological sequence that goes in the same direction.

Among the Angami Nagas the successful warrior on returning to the village waits outside the gate. There anyone of his family may come to bring him food while he awaits anyone who may wish to pierce the flesh of the slain enemy. After that he enters the village escorted by the members of his clan and deposits at the foot of it the flesh of his enemy or enemies, shouting "Wo, ho . . . wu!" for each man killed. He deposits the head and whatever flesh he has brought in front of his house and pours a drink made with rice and yeast on it saying, "Let the enemy be lazy and sleepy and kill them and let me do this again." The Sema put a plant used for yeast⁽³⁾ on the head of the man or animal they have killed and walk around it six times calling the whole tribe of the dead to turn silly and come and get killed.

(1) Roth, *op cit*, II, Pg. 165.

(2) Gomes, E. H., *Seventeen Years Among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo*, 1911, Pgs. 75, 76.

(3) The same plant is also burnt at the peace offerings.

The rite performed for success in hunting most noticeably resembles that performed for the killing of an enemy. The liquor is poured over the animal's head with the words "The magical animal has been killed, let me kill more."⁽¹⁾ No radical distinction is made between human heads and heads of game. Man is the biggest and most dangerous game and his pursuit is therefore attended with precautions which may be unnecessary in the case of smaller game, but it is still game. All the skulls of larger animals killed by him are religiously kept from that of an otter to that of an elephant while even the heads of small birds may often be seen nailed to his house.⁽²⁾ In the ceremony performed for success in hunting the Lushei pick up small stones and put them in their haversack. When they are about to enter the chief's house they say, "We are bringing men's and animals' heads." In order that a person after death may gain possession of the spirits of the men or wild animals he has killed here below it is necessary for him to sacrifice a mithan, goat or pig. After this feast, before the skull can be placed in the front verandah, a religious ceremony called "Hoist of the head of the wild animal" is performed. A small white fowl is given to him and the skull of the animal is placed in front of him. He then takes some *zu*⁽³⁾ in his mouth and spits it out over the skull and after muttering a charm in so low a tone that no one can hear him he strikes the skull with the head of the chicken. If some of the feathers stick on the skull it is very lucky. After this the skull can be put up. The spirit of a dead man cannot pass to the other world unless some animals are killed. These have to be provided by the heir and no greater objection can be urged against a claim to inherit than a failure to provide the funeral sacrifice. This explains the reason of the Ai ceremony. The performer thereby enables the spirit of the dead animal to pass to the other world and thereby acquires power over it. The word Ai means "to fascinate," "to obtain power over." The Ai of a man requires the sacrifice of a mithan and a small pig. If an enemy is killed and no Ai performed the slayer is very likely to go mad. If you perform the Ai you can take your enemy with you as a slave when you die. If not, you cannot do so and the spirit of your deceased enemy will haunt you in this life.⁽⁴⁾

The heir must offer sacrifice to vindicate his claim. Therefore if

(1) Hutton, I. H., *The Angami Nagas*, 1921, Pgs. 239, 240.

(2) Hutton, *ibid.* Pg. 158.

(3) Rice drink, cf. above.

(4) Shakespear, I., *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, 1912, Pgs. 77-79.

we find that the parallel sacrifice is offered when one has killed a tiger or an enemy this confirms our assumption that the victim of a head-hunting raid is really the symbol of the father. We know that many primitive tribes or clans have totem-animals, i. e., they regard themselves as descended from a certain kind of animal, they forbid themselves to kill this animal and to marry a woman who has the same animal as her totem. Now it is a well known fact that although the totem of the clan is the animal which is not killed by the members of that clan yet at the same time totem animals are frequently food animals, i. e., the very animals which the primitives *do kill*.⁽¹⁾

May we perhaps assume that we tend to identify ourselves with whatever we kill—and then reactively to venerate our victims?

Among the Orokaiva if a man originally named Koga has killed another man named Amburi, henceforth, he, the slayer, is known by the name of Amburi, the slain. His intimate friends will still call him by his original name but ordinarily his name would be that of his victim. When a warrior of distinction has accounted for a number of slain he does not take the name of each in turn but continues to be known by that of the first. The habit of bestowing the victim's name upon the child of the slayer is a common one.⁽²⁾

The whole constellation simply shows the dynamic significance of the Oedipus complex. *Whatever is killed becomes the father*. Hence the veneration of the food animals which then results in a taboo on killing the animal and hence the veneration of the enemy's skull or in general the displacement of the Oedipus complex to the enemy. The father was the enemy, the enemy becomes the father. The difference between the cult of one's own dead and the cult of the enemy killed in a raid is not as great as one might think. On the Manus, Margaret Mead writes:

"He lives in the care of these omnipresent paternalistic spirits who care for him as well as they are able and who frown upon him if he fails in his moral obligations and forgive him if he makes amends for his faults. Towards the spirits he continues to play the capricious unfilial part which he played with his father, now threatening to withhold or transfer his allegiance, taunting them with loneliness which will be theirs should he reject them.

"As in childhood he clung to his father depending upon his fath-

(1) Cf. for this question Roheim, G., *Australian Totemism*, 1925, 36, 97.

(2) Williams, F. E., *Orokaiva Society*, 1930, Pgs. 174, 175.

er's affection and care in a one-sided relationship which always emphasized the child's right to receive love, never the father's right to filial devotion so it is with the spirits. The Manus do not love their guardian spirits who, after all are only doing their proper spirit duty in looking after them. The more alert natives who consider quite calmly the future entrance of Christianity know that this means that all the ancestral skulls will be thrown into the sea, the spirits ejected forever. But they look upon this with the naughty glee of bad children contemplating the overthrow of their parents with only a passing regret and a great feeling of relief. Spoiled children in early childhood, they are spoiled children to their spirits, accepting every service as their due, resenting discipline, quick to desert a spirit which has not been powerful to protect them.⁽¹⁾

The dead of one's own tribe have been killed unconsciously by the survivors and the cult is a reparation of this hostility. In the case of the enemy the killing is conscious and realistic. For the in-group the bond is conscious, the hostility latent. For the out-group hostility is open and real and the union or bond which follows in the wake of aggression is displaced from the primal dual-unity and the Oedipus complex.

Primitive tribes nearly always believe in ogres. The emphasis is not only on the cannibalistic traits of these supernatural beings but also on their non-human monstrous appearance. They are *strangers* par excellence and strangers or neighboring tribes are often identified with them. Analysis reveals the original "stranger" behind these phantasies in the person of the father.⁽²⁾ The mysterious qualities of strangers and the ambivalent attitude towards them is evidently based on the Oedipus complex.⁽³⁾

One of the common phenomena of European history is that a country is ruled by a foreign dynasty. Frazer discusses this question on the basis of Greek, Latin, Scandinavian and Pict data.

"Aeacus himself reigned in Aegina but his descendents from the beginning went to other lands." His son Telamon migrated to the island of Salamis, married the king's daughter and reigned over the country. Peleus, the son of Aeacus went to Phthia in Thessaly and wedded the king's daughter. His son, Achilles goes to the court of Lycomedes where he got one of the princesses with child. His son Neoptolemus went to Epirus and became the ancestor of the kings of the country.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Mead, M., *Growing up in New Guinea*, 1930, Pgs. 116, 117.

(2) Cf. Roheim, *The Riddle of the Sphinx*, 1934, Chapter I.

(3) Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, 1911, Pgs. 101-116.

(4) Frazer, *The Magic Art*, II. Pages 278, 279.

Frazer explains these and similar data on basis of an assumed matrilinear descent of kingship. However it may also mean that a non-native ruler has a certain *prestige* derived from the unconscious Oedipus connotation attached to the stranger. The Oedipus significance of kingship is at any rate, perfectly evident. The kings' son leaving the country is banished by his father. It seems significant that he has to leave the country on account of a murder.

Aegisthus kills Agamemnon and marries his widow to be killed in turn by Orestes, and Hamlet's myth is the same story. Canute married the widow of Ethelred merely out of policy to claim by a legal measure the crown which he had already won for himself by the sword. Among the Saxons and their near kinsmen the Varini it appears to have been a regular custom for the new king to marry his step-mother. Edbald, King of Kent, married his step-mother after the death of his father. Ethelbald, King of the West Saxons, married his step-mother after the death of his father, Ethelbert, etc.⁽¹⁾

In the story of King Arthur the Oedipus content of royalty becomes quite clear. In King Arthur's absence Sir Mordred aspires to his throne and Queen.

"Wherefore Sir Mordred made a parliament and called the lords together, and there he made them choose him king; and so was he crowned at Canterbury and held the feast there fifteen days and afterwards he drew him into Winchester and there he took the Queen, Guenever and said plainly that he would wed her which was his uncle's wife and his father's wife."⁽²⁾

Then came the Bishop of Caterbury and thus he said to Sir Mordred:

"Sir! what will ye do- Will ye first displease God and sithen shame yourself and all knighthood? Is not King Arthur your uncle, no farther but your mother's brother, and on her himself King Arthur begat you upon his own sister, therefore how may you wed your father's wife?"⁽³⁾

"And when Sir Mordred felt that he had his death wound he thrust himself with the might that he had up to the but of King Arthur's spear. And right so he smote his father, Arthur, with his sword holden in both his hands."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Frazer, *Magic Art*, II, Pgs. 279-283.

(2) Sir Mordred is King Arthur's son by his own sister.

(3) Mallory, Sir Thomas, *LeMorte D'Arthur*. Everyman's Library, 1912, Vol. II, Pg. 379, 380.

(4) Mallory, *ibid.* Pg. 387.

With this obvious Oedipus content of kingship⁽¹⁾ on the one hand and the frequency of foreign dynasties in European history on the other, it seems very probable that the relationship of one nation to another must have been influenced by emotional attitudes which were really disguised representatives of the Oedipus complex.

4. The Super Ego

North American data serve to exemplify points we have already made and also to explain a very general psychological problem in connection with war.

Among the Papago the greatest thing a man can do is to take an enemy's scalp. But once he has done this he will be like a man inoculated with a terrible disease. He will not dare to eat as much as he wishes or to touch fire or to scratch his own body. So many acts are dangerous that a man will need another one to watch over him almost like a nurse. Before he goes to war each man chooses an ancient warrior who has been through the same experience as his guardian or "made father." That man's wife will guard the hero's wife who is also subject to the spell. All his relatives, to the last degree must go through some gesture of purification.

When the war party starts home the heroes steal in a day's journey behind, like men in quarantine. They never touch either food or water unless they are brought to them by their guardians. The food is only parched corn meal mixed with water and if he is a real hero he is supposed to wait until the corn meal settles and the mixture at the top is almost as thin as water. This he drinks throwing the rest away.⁽²⁾ Suffering is an essential part of heroism.

The old man goes to meet the hero. He leads him to some place out of sight of the village and seats him under a tree.

Every morning his guardian brings him a cup of gruel and if he is brave he takes only a sip. Every four days his drinking cup is thrown away taking some of the contamination with it and a new one is brought him. Every four days his guardian bathes him by pouring a jar of cold water over him as he kneels. On the same day that the guardian's wife

(1) Cf. Roheim, *Animmism, Magic and the Divine King*, 1930, 203-311.

(2) R. M. Underhill, *Singing for Power*, 1938, 93-97.

is bathing the hero's wife their grandmother is bathing the children and every relative even to the remote degrees is bathing also.

The hero sits motionless, arms folded, head on breast, his weapons beside him, waiting for the inspiration of a song to come. The guardian keeps the scalp in which is concentrated all the power of the dead enemy. He twists it into the shape of a little man and clothes it with buckskin and feathers, like an Apache. The seventeenth day after the retreat has begun the warrior is purified and fit to receive the scalp. The effigy is called "prisoner" and it is like a powerful spirit imprisoned for the use of its master. It will be his child and friend and servant if only he does not forget to give it food, tobacco and eagle feathers. The guardian lays it on his knees and he receives it saying, "My child." Then his wife also cradles it. Each of his children holds it, saying, "My younger brother. Now he has 'Scalp power.'"⁽¹⁾

The parallelism between the behavior pattern of the hero or homicide and the mourner is quite evident. They both behave like a case of melancholia, i. e., with aggression turned inward and identification with the dead—be it kinsmen or enemy. The song is the typical transition to magic, i. e., from the melancholic to the manic position from depression to omnipotence. The hero has turned the tables on his father and the powerful enemy is now a servant or child and a helpful genius. The same mechanism has been described by Anna Freud. A child displaces his anxiety from the father to the lion and then transforms the dangerous beast into a guardian animal. In the Lord Fauntleroy type of childhood story the little boy dominates and tames the powerful father representative.⁽²⁾ In the rites we have described the dangerous Apache is transformed into a child and helpful spirit.

As the father is the original enemy, the enemy becomes the symbol of the father. The introjected father imago is the super-ego and in the taboos and mourning rites of the homicide or warrior we see plenty of evidence of the enemy becoming a super-ego or ego-ideal or guardian spirit.

The mourner represents the Ego under the domination of the super-ego and only by representing the deed which brought him under this domination, i. e., by re-extroverting aggression that has been turned inward can he hope to end this period of subjugation. Among the Kayans the mourner was dressed "in nothing but a dirty rag around his loins

(1) Underhill, *op. cit.*, 98-103.

(2) Anna Freud, *Das Ich und die Abwehrmechanismen*, 1936, 88, 92.

and thus he intended to remain until the mourning for his wife ceased by securing a head."⁽¹⁾

In Southern Nias the last breath of the dying victim is exhaled on the corpse which clearly shows the identity of the dead man and the sacrificed victim.⁽²⁾

By the mere fact of having been killed the enemy becomes a representative of the father, i. e., a super-ego. On the other hand, however, the desire to wage war is based on the internal struggle between Ego and Super-Ego and represents a retort of the Ego to the Super-Ego. "Yes, I can be as aggressive as I like and you can't do anything about it." The ambiguous nature of the super-ego has to be taken into account in order to understand this situation. As Freud has described the super-ego, it is characterized by two sentences: "You ought to be like your father" (ego-ideal) and "You are not permitted to do what father does" (super-ego proper). Therefore, the same act which is in harmony with society (following the commands of the ego-ideal) is also a challenge to the super-ego.

A. W. Davis, as Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills writes: "Before we annexed their country, the Aos were great slave owners and these slaves were occasionally made use of for semi-sacrificial purpose, e.g., two villages are at war and are desirous of making peace. It is found that one side has taken more heads than the other. *To make things equal and as a sacrifice to the spirits of the dead* (my italics) who have gone unavenged an agreement would be arrived at that the village which had taken the fewest heads should receive one or more slaves from the other village. These slaves were bound and left at a spot agreed upon before hand. There they were found by the young men of the receiving village who killed them and carried off their heads in triumph."⁽³⁾

No group (nation, tribe) can admit defeat. If defeated this means that they are not the *equals* of the others, i. e., not adults. As long as they have not proved themselves as such they are haunted by the spirits of their own dead, i. e., by the super-ego. In killing a human being they are doing the most effectual thing towards averting the displeasure of an evil spirit.

(1) H. L. Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, II, 1896, 142.

(2) R. Hertz, "La Representation Collective de la Mort." *Année Sociologique*, X, 1907, 104. Cf above for the same conclusion.

(3) J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, 1921, 161.

The initial phase in war, the outgoing of the warriors, is, therefore, really a challenge to the super-ego. Psychologically it is equivalent to the building sacrifice.⁽¹⁾ Building a new house is daring to do something, and in every human endeavor we have the same antagonist, the jealous gods, i. e., the super-ego.

When the head man of a Naga village in Manipur had a new house erected a man used to be buried under the main post of the house.⁽²⁾ The Kiwai men's house or *darimo* is based on the activity and death of an old couple. The leading part in the construction of the house is taken by a very old man called "father of the *darimo*" and a very old woman called "hot woman." (hot=magical).

The lives of the two old folks are forfeit with the completion of the building. They have no say in the matter. The people go to the eldest son of an old couple and give him presents; by accepting these he assents to his parents taking over this role. The son smears his face with mud and weeps for his old parents. If the son refuses, the presents are taken back and the people address themselves to the son of another couple. The *darimo* or mens' house is supposed to be the thing that makes men go to war and that helps them in their wars against other tribes.⁽³⁾

Therefore war and boasting and "saving face" go together. "The exaggerated interest of warriors in a performance of war deeds in order to acquire rank and the standardized character of these deeds has led some interpreters of Plains culture to see warfare as a game in which the players maneuver for 'social recognition'!"⁽⁴⁾

Coup is the French Canadian term adopted to designate the formal token or signal of victory in battle as used among the Plains tribes. Coups are usually "counted" as it was termed—that is, credit of victory was taken for three brave deeds, viz., killing an enemy, scalping an enemy, or being first to strike an enemy, either alive or dead. Each one of these entitled a man to rank as a warrior, and to recount the exploit in public,

(1) Cf. G. Roheim, "The Covenant of Abraham," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. XX. 1939, 452-464.

(2) J. H. Hutton, *l. c.*, 160.

(3) G. Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea*, 1927, p. 10, 21, 22, 356.

(4) B. Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare among the Plains Indians*, (Monographs of the American Ethnological Society) III, 1940, p. 3. The author of the monograph, on the other hand, emphasizes the economic motives in Plains warfare. The economic motive, however, is the horse, and this, of course, is a relatively late feature in the culture of these tribes.

but the first to touch the enemy was regarded as the bravest feat of all, as it implied close approach during battle. "The warrior who could strike a tipi of the enemy in a charge upon a home camp thus 'counted coup' upon it and was entitled to reproduce its particular design upon the next new tipi which he made for his own use, and to perpetuate the pattern in his family. In this way he was said to 'capture' the tipi."⁽¹⁾

It was not enough to achieve these deeds, publicity was essential. The warrior does not attain a higher rank by merely performing deeds of valor and then modestly belittling them or refusing to speak of them at all. Especially at the beginning of his career a young warrior is dependent on his relatives who give him a build-up. A fond father will do all in his power to see that his son's reputation as a warrior becomes widely known. He will distribute property and give feasts in his son's honor.⁽²⁾

Our clinical experience shows what all this means. Success of any kind and the elated mood or boasting that follows success represents the ego's triumph over the super-ego. Further light on the subject is thrown by the function of war and boasting in a South American tribe.

The Kaingang speaking tribes on the government reservation of Duque de Caxias in the state of Santa Catarina have a peculiar concept *Waikayu* is translated by Henry as self-love. When controlled, its in-group expression is initiative, care for others, and staying awake all night to watch for vendetta enemies, and its out-group expression consists in attacks on other groups and Brazilians.

When the Kaingang is a young man (males from 10 to 35 or 40) he lies about caressing his hunting companions and spends his nights seeking young women. This is the period when he is childless, when he follows leaders, and when no specific judgments are made of him. But as he grows older, he gives up caressing other men and playing with other people's babies. He has a wife and children of his own; he is now *wai-kayu*, i. e., he loves himself. He has taken part in several raids on the Brazilians, and killed enemies in the blood feud.

Now he starts to boast to his children about his powers in killing and his capacity for beer. One of the men said, "Since I did not want to have intercourse I told my belly to my children." To tell his belly means to talk about his achievements in drinking beer. Sexual relations

(1) F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30, "Coup") I, 1911, p. 354.

(2) B. Mishkin, *l. c.*, 40, 41.

are regarded as an obstacle in the achievement of *waikayu*, and any weakness or failure in social obligations may be ridiculed in terms of preoccupation with sex.

The boasting, however, curiously enough is exclusively boasting to one's own children. When the fathers get mightily drunk, they call their sons by their *néklé*, the special boasting name that every male has, and repeated stereotyped phrases that referred to no specific deed, but to their general prowess. "When my father wanted to kill someone," said Vomble, "he was *waikayu* and he would boast to me"—and enumerate the son's boasting names. "In order that my children may remember me when they drink water, 'You will not die!' I raid the dwellings of the whites and they hide from me with their children."

Boasting among the Kaingang was not a means by which each man strove to take the measure of his neighbor and outstrip him if he could. Through boasting a man built up his own self-esteem, but boasting had a very limited scope, and was peculiar in character.⁽¹⁾

The *waikayu* is also a force that makes for good behavior in society. When Cha was bitten by a wild pig, a man who had to carry the stricken boy decided that he was too much of a load, and wanted to abandon him, but then he thought of his boasting and he thought the others would ridicule him if they heard of this. Men have lost their lives because of their strong feeling of *waikayu*, for death itself was preferable to the ridicule they would draw upon themselves if they failed to live up to the opinion which they had of themselves, and which they tried to instill in others.

The typical *Waikayu* individual was dangerous to outsiders. He was vicious, quarrelsome, and even from our point of view brave, for he would attack the Brazilians in the face of great danger, and he was a great killer of tigers, the symbol of *waikayu in the animal world*.⁽²⁾

The extremely *waikayu* individual directs his hostility towards his own group. He becomes quarrelsome and threatening and the hate against him grows to white heat. Henry then tells the story of Nengacha and his feuds and summarizes it as follows:

In general the Kaingang feeling about the *waikayu* individuals is that they are quarrelsome, vicious, and brave, but it does not appear that Nengacha possessed those qualities to a conspicuous degree. Indeed, what seems to be his most striking characteristic is his developed capacity for

(1) J. Henry, *Jungle People*, 1941, 113-15.

(2) Henry, *op. cit.*, 115, 116.

projection, which tends to get out of hand, and find expression in threatening demeanor. In other words, the cause of Nengacha's anti-social behavior is an outlook in which men around him are seen as living reproaches, perpetually storing up resentments against him.⁽¹⁾

The feeling of being arrayed against the massed forces of destruction is represented by the concept of *lu* or doom. In the origin myths the standard phrase is "I am going dancing to meet my doom." When they are killed and they die, they say, "My *lu* killed me." When a person goes to meet the approaching enemy, he is about to be killed. His doom kills him.

Henry then gives the following interesting diagrams of the psychic structure of the Kaingang:

Myself and Other Members of
My Extended Family⁽²⁾

What I think

What I think they think

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. My body is my fortress. | 3. We live in you. |
| 2. I live in them. ⁽³⁾ | |
| 4. But I desert you and meddle with your wives. | 5. You have deserted us and have been meddling with our wives. |
| 6. So I feel guilty (<i>yóktbê</i>). | 7. So we are angry with you. |
| 8. If you are angry with me I'll be angry with you too. | |

⁽¹⁾ Henry, *I. c.*, 118-20.

⁽²⁾ The sentences are to be read in numerical order.

⁽³⁾ Namely, I love them and I identify with them.

⁽⁴⁾ This is where the *waikayu* behavior sets in.

Myself and the World Outside
(Other Families)

My Body

Outside of my Body

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. My body and those of my close relatives give me security. | 2. Everything outside threatens and is my doom. |
| 3. My body is in constant danger of destruction. | 4. And I must take action against the threat. |
| 5. Contemplating action I feel guilt. | 6. Feeling guilt I project "The other person fears me because he knows what is in my mind." |
| | 7. He fears me and therefore wishes to destroy me. This is my doom. |
| 8. I must take action to prevent it. | |
| 9. I take action and feel guilt. | |

Every Kaingang is so ridden by the sense of guilt that "custom" (*yóktbê*) and "guilt" means the same thing. The word means both a person's habitual behavior and also his fault and guilt.⁽¹⁾

At first sight it is evident from these data that *waikayu* or self-love is narcissism or libido withdrawn both from the hetero- and homo-sexual object, and reinvested in the ego.

But why does this take place? It happens when a young man advances in age, when he becomes emphatically a father. The explanation we offer is that becoming a father is a difficult problem for all human beings. It means a battle against the super-ego. The man who boasts in the way described is warding off an attack of the super-ego. When he meddles with his friends' wives he starts feeling guilty and it is this guilty feeling that he has to ward off by exaggerated boasting and show

⁽¹⁾ Henry, *l. c.*, 120, 121.

of aggression. Projection or a paranoid attitude as a starting point of *waikayu* makes matters quite clear.⁽¹⁾ For in paranoia the persecutors are representatives of the super-ego. A man feels guilty, shows aggression, and then feels more guilt. Nothing could be a clearer instance of the conflict between the ego and the super-ego as the motivation of aggression, both within the group and outside of the group. The fact that boasting is connected with drinking beer is revealing—the super-ego is based on introjection. But why should a man boast to his son, why should there be special boasting names for his son with which he stirs himself into martial aggression? The explanation is obvious. The only person he is really afraid of is his son, his successor who will dispossess him as he dispossessed his father. By boasting to his son he is trying to reassure himself and frighten his real enemy. The overwhelming bulk of Kaingang folk-lore consists of murder stories—murder committed in every imaginable way, and on all relatives *except sons*.⁽²⁾ (My italics).

The case of the Kaingang is very instructive for it shows how on the basis of the Oedipus complex and the super-ego, the extroversion of aggression becomes inevitable. It also shows the specific function of war in primitive society.

"The obsessive interest of the Kaingang in destruction and murder was all externalized against the "other people," and it was this ability to externalize their obsessions that was in part responsible for whatever coherence and security the family represented. The overpowering urge toward destruction that manifests itself still in the wanton gashing of trees and the killing of the tiniest bird that happens to perch on a limb where stick and stone may reach it, is never directed against the family but always outward. The function of the feud, therefore, was two-fold, for they served both to gratify the need to destroy and to direct it away from the extended family."⁽³⁾

(1) Cf. The withdrawal of homosexual libido as a starting point of *waikayu*.

(2) Henry, *l. c.*, 62.

(3) Henry, *l. c.*, 62.

These considerations throw some light on the role of super-ego conflict as one of the factors that lead to war. We all remember the tremendous role the problem of German war guilt played in Nazi propaganda, the furious denial and the paranoia or projection that followed.

PART III. CRIME IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

1. In-Group Hostility

If war means aggression projected beyond the limits of the group, criminal behaviour means a failure in identifying with the group, aggression that has not been projected.⁽¹⁾ Sumner has really expressed these views only in different terminology and without the psychoanalytic point of view. The tie that unites mother and child is the basic form of kinship and group formation.⁽²⁾ "Government, law, order, peace, and institutions developed in the in-group." "The custom of blood revenge was a protection to all who were in a group of kinsmen. It knit them all together and served their interests against all outsiders. Therefore it was a societalizing custom and institution."⁽³⁾ We live in groups because we repeat infantile patterns, because after having grown up i. e., emerged from the mother-child unity—we restore this unity on another level in the group. In this sense to grow up is a re-finding of the infantile situation.⁽⁴⁾ From the cradle to the grave identifications or unions become *decreasingly true biologically* and as soon as formed, covenants tend to be disrupted; that is, the trend of individuation or separation must be repeated. The fiction on which primitive society is based is that all aggression is projected beyond the frontier but this, of course, is impossible even in a small group. In Central Australia we have a society based on the classificatory system of relationship. This means that society is subdivided into eight groups. If the father belongs to class I, I call all other men who also belong to class I my fathers, and if I am a member of class II all men in class II are my brothers.⁽⁵⁾ Now Spencer and Gillen have tabulated the local groups according to classes and have thus shown that the members of one local group call each other "father" or "brothers."⁽⁶⁾ As the local group is the actual and practical unit, this means

(1) For the present I am considering only those "criminal" offenses (theft, murder, rape) which, as Dr. Williams has observed, in a primitive society are really "civil" offenses. F. E. Williams, "Group Sentiment and Primitive Justice," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43 (1941), 531.

(2) W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (1913), p. 493, 494.

(3) Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 498, 499.

(4) Cf. Roheim. The Origin and Function of Culture. *Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph, Series 69*, 1943.

(5) This is all we need to know for our present purpose. Cf. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes, Oceania Monographs No. 1*.

(6) Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta* (1927), II, 63.

that life is based on the solidarity evolved in the father-son or in the brother situation.

Actually of course this solidarity rests on the underlying disruptive forces of the Oedipus complex.⁽¹⁾

Two men of about equal age called on me one day to relate myths. Both were very old, yet while one of them did all the talking the other observed a certain modesty. The first man, Tungalla, a Southern Aranda, explained the situation by telling me that he was the father of the other old fellow. Father, of course, means classificatory fathers in this case. But the essential conscious content of fatherhood was present in the relationship. It was the idea of protection on the father's side and of a tacit acknowledgment of this protection on the son's side. Tungalla explains that he had been "taking care" of the other man ever since the other man's father had died. How he had been "taking care" of him, it would be difficult to say. Mainly, it seems, by assuring the other man and people in general that he was "taking care" of him and thus giving him the feeling of security which he otherwise might have lost with the death of his real father. The underlying unconscious attitude is of course here as everywhere else the Oedipus complex. The aggression directed against the father is shown in several dreams. In old Yirramba's dream in which he appears as a *leltja* (killer, blood-avenger) it is easy to recognize his victim as a representative of the father-imago. In a dream of Lelil-tukutu which combines the elements of fighting and of flying in a dream, the antagonist is a representative of the father imago. The children killed by Pukutiwara and Uran-tukutu in their dreams represent their own children.

In this society as the age of a "brother" (classificatory) is frequently the same as that of the real father and vice versa, a classificatory "father" may be the age of a real brother; the two relationships naturally merge into each other as far as the emotions are concerned. A brother frequently appears in the dreams as a representative of the father.

The brother relationship is of paramount importance in everyday life. Brothers belong to the same marriage class which means that they will stand up for each other in a quarrel or fight. If a man gets into serious trouble because of anything he has done except incest or serious ritual offences he can always reckon on his classificatory "brothers" to back him up in a fight. On the other hand brothers having the right of

(1) The following data and conclusions are based on my field work in Central Australia.

access to the same group of women⁽¹⁾ are eternal rivals. Every account of a *ltata* (ceremonial exchange of wives) is likely to contain an episode of a fight between two "brothers" (real or classificatory) who are trying to get the same woman into the "bush." But they also fight for other reasons. Tjintjewara's (old woman of the Matuntara tribe) father had a fight with his brother. It started with the brother's dog taking his meat whereupon he split the dog's nose with his boomerang. Then the two men had a fight. As one of the brothers is frequently much older, a suitable representative of the father, the fight with the brother is frequently an outlet for the father-son conflict. Uran-tukutu's (middle-aged man of the Pindupi tribe) dreams show both kinds of brother-fight; Kalpara, who is his younger brother, appears in the dreams as a *malpakara*, the sexually desirous person of "obscene" folklore, because he is his real rival at the *ltata*. But when he fights with Puna-tari both in the dream and in reality, his adversary is much older, only nominally a "brother," and really a representative of the father-imago. Whereas fights between brothers occur frequently a fight between a father and a son is a rare occurrence. Old Kaliraka at Henbury hit his son's wife, whereupon his son turned round and hit him. People came and stopped them and scolded the son for fighting with his father, but that was all.

In every Australian society we find the institution of a *duel*, which, like its European counterpart, is regulated and mitigated aggression. A peculiar Australian form of duelling is to submit to punishment alternately without making an attempt to avoid or parry the blows. At Hermannsburg Mission I saw two Aranda women in a duel. One of them was standing with her neck stuck out; the other was hammering away at her head with a yamstick. Then they changed positions and this went on till one of them collapsed. The reason for the duel was that one of them had stolen the other's flour.⁽²⁾ Frequently, however, it is a regular duel in our sense of the word.⁽³⁾ The duel may become a sort of one-sided duel in which society without taking action backs up the offended party. In accounts of how a young man got his wife, one very often hears that the father resented the impatience of the young man to whom the girl was promised and stabbed him in the leg with a knife or threw

(1) Ego being an Aranda can have intercourse with or marry the women whom his "brothers" can marry, but not those whom his "fathers," "uncles," or "cousins," can marry.

(2) Food rations given by the Mission to the natives.

(3) H. Basedow, *The Australian Aboriginal* (1925), pp. 165-81.

a few spears at him which he might attempt to parry by skipping. The young man is not supposed to retaliate and the elder one is not supposed to inflict any really serious wounds. A certain amount of aggression is therefore admitted within the group. The right of an older wife to inflict punishment on a younger is a similar right, not expressed, but tacitly lived up to.

This is the narrative of Urkalarkiraka, an old woman of the Aranda tribe:

"Kapita-indaka was my husband and we were living at Alice Springs. There was a woman called Hidi, who used to visit my husband regularly. She was a half-caste and she always brought him food. Finally I got jealous and I told her, "Give me the food, if you want to bring it, and let me take it to him." One night he did not come home and I knew where he had been. Then I found the woman and I gave her a terrible beating with a yam-stick. She ran and I chased her. She fell and I sat on her and continued to beat her with the yam-stick. Then I caught Hidi again and dragged her along by the pubic hair till all her pubic hairs came out. I rammed my fire-stick right into her vagina."

The husband looked on and did not object to the beating. Finally he took her stick away to prevent it going any further. He knew that he was going to keep them both but he admitted the right of the older woman to give vent to her feelings before she accepted the new situation.

W. E. Roth writes about the tribes of Northern Queensland: "The culprit comes back to the camp and calls upon them one by one to throw a spear over or at him. On the Pennefather River the spear is stuck directly into the fleshy part of the back of the thigh. The spears having once been thrown forgiveness is complete. Sometimes he is allowed to defend himself against the spears. Sometimes a brother or near relative will help him. On the Bloomfield if a man has been having intercourse with another man's wife he may submit the top of his head to a blow, or he may offer his thumb to be bitten off by the injured husband; if he has been tale-bearing he lets his mouth be struck by the individual slandered. A woman who had accidentally cut one of her neighbour's hands deliberately inflicted a similar injury on her own."⁽¹⁾

Although from a very general point of view we can define *crime as aggression within the group* we must qualify this statement by saying

(1) W. E. Roth, "Note on Government, Morals and Crime," *North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin, 8, 1905, p. 10.

that in all societies concessions are made to the real psychological situation and a certain amount of aggression is recognized and tolerated within the group.

We shall now discuss the situation in Normanby Island to show how the nuclear conflict of the Oedipus situation is displaced to father substitutes and becomes the core of the whole social structure. The best insight into the latent meaning of these relationships comes from dream-analysis.

Bulemas dream

I fought with a man for the garden. He was clearing it and I said:	
How is this! You are clearing my garden!	He replied, This is my garden. My ancestors started it a long time ago.
I said, You go, don't clear it! And I threw an axe at him.	He had a stick and hit me.
I said, You go to your village.	So he went but he came back with another man and a club to hit me.
I said, I am the owner of this garden. We planted it first, my ancestors cleared the jungle first.	They said, All right, we go and you clear it.

Bulema is a man of about forty-five, a great *esaesa* (chief) and an even greater *barau* (sorcerer). He is about to give a *sagari* (food distribution ceremony) to his wife's family. The problem that arises in connection with the *sagari* is that of the ownership of a piece of land. His mother thinks that her clan had given marriage presents to the father's clan of far greater value than what they had received as counter presents. They should be compensated by receiving this garden. The day stimulus of giving presents to another clan evokes the conflict about claims and presents.

The first antagonist in the dream reminds him of Turumae. He calls Turumae a relation (*bukunao*) although strictly speaking he was a *iabwebwe*, that is, a child who had been adopted into Bulema's clan (*susu*—matrilinear clan, literally breast, milk). He was adopted as a baby and nursed by the women of Bulema's clan.

The other man is Duigu, his real brother. Both are much older men. Turumae used to take him for fishing trips and Duigu would give him fruit when he was a child. The quarrel reminds him of a quarrel that took place between his father and his father's brother. The words addressed by him in the dream to Turumae were spoken in reality by the father's brother to the father. *The dreamer's antagonist in this dream is therefore his father.* What happened when his father had the quarrel with his brother? Bulema's father admitted that his brother had worked there before but he said, "You have left it and therefore I have a right to work in it!" They nearly had a fight, and although Bulema's father remained in nominal possession he had to leave the village in order to avoid the possibility of a fight with his brother.

This requires some explanation. First, as for the role played by Turumae, the adopted member of the *susu*. Legally he is a relation; really he is not. Now the father in this society is legally a stranger, descent being matrilinear and the matrilinear clan being the social unit, but really a person with whom the child has the normal strong emotional tie. Therefore Turumae may represent the father as the symbol is frequently the opposite of the latent content. Why was it necessary that Bulema's father should leave the village? Evidently there was real antagonism between the two brothers so that one of them might have killed the other in a fight. If he kills his brother he must leave the village, not because anybody takes action against him but because he cannot eat the food of the village in which the blood of his relative has been spilt. The food would kill him.

The reply given by Bulema's adversary was the retort made in real life by Sawakeya, Bulema's uncle, who had a dispute with his half-brother about a garden.

Here we discover another equation in the dream. First we said, *the enemy is the father*; now we find *the enemy is the uncle*. In the next short sentence Bulema replies, Go away, don't clear it. These are again the words spoken by the brother who had the quarrel with Bulema's father.

In the dream we find both the introjection of and aggression against the representatives of all authority in society (father and uncle). The sentence, "I am the owner of this garden," was used in reality by the uncle in his quarrel with his half-brother. In this sentence therefore Bulema identifies himself with his uncle. In the last sentence when Turumae and his friend say, "All right, you can keep the garden, they repeat

what the father's brother said when he left Bulema's father in possession in the memorable dispute. Here the dreamer takes his father's place in the role of the *beatus possidens*.

The axe-throwing in the dream is also a repetition of real events. Bulema's father had a pig. That pig persisted in going into Wanakeda's garden. Wanakeda wanted to spear the pig and Bulema threatened him with an axe; here again we find him therefore representing his father.

In the dream we find the dreamer fighting an "imago," a composite of father and uncle, for the garden ground. What is the garden? The words spoken by Bulema in the dream, *You go to your village*, were the very words he said to Bwabwaroy, his brother-in-law. Bwabwaroy had quarrelled with his wife (Bulema's sister). Their child was sick and the father had given it some fish to eat. The mother thought that might disagree with the child, and she exclaimed, "What are you doing? You are killing my child!" He got angry and beat her. Bulema, who resented this conduct very much, thereupon *also beat his sister*. At first I thought I had misunderstood this till it was explained that this was equivalent to beating the brother-in-law. But it is taboo to touch the brother-in-law. *Aggression is turned inward* against a representative of one's own clan. When he said that to the brother-in-law the latter had to leave the village. In the association material we have another person who leaves the village: Bulema's father. When Bulema explained the impossibility of beating the brother-in-law he said: *Wabana (uncle) be tamana (and father) ada tarauwara (our enemies)*, i. e., we can and do fight with uncle and father because they are our real relations but we cannot touch the brother-in-law.

What conclusions can we draw from these data? The first thing we notice is that the garden represents a woman, Bulema's sister. We know that in this society a boy is first oriented towards his father,⁽¹⁾ then from the pre-puberty period to marriage towards his uncle, and finally towards his brother-in-law. In all three cases we have an ambivalent attitude made up of identification and aggression. Between father and son, even between uncle and nephew the idea is that sympathy will be strong enough to counterbalance their hostility. Brothers-in-law may not fight because they are strangers and it would be too dangerous; also it would break the peace between the two clans now bound together by the none too reliable tie of marital gift exchanges.

The two men coming against him with a club remind him of two

(1) We are taking account only of the persons of the same sex.

things. One event happened when he was a young man and went to Meudana for the *loyawe* (love-making). He went up to the house of a girl and the girl's lover came with a club to beat him. He closed the door and they wrestled with each other. The other event happened in his childhood. He was playing on a raft with his half-brother, Tubuyay, and he cut Tubuyay's finger. The two fathers got very angry and they chased the children with clubs. They slept in the bush till the nibana's (cross-cousin) wife came and fetched them.

The "garden" in the dream is now clear. The first association takes us to the sister in her role as a mother and wife; the second shows that the "garden" is really a woman with whom he was in love. And the next sentence takes us back to the infantile Oedipus complex with the father as antagonist. The garden in which he fights his antagonists belonged to his *nibana* (cross-cousin), a member of his father's clan whom he also calls *tamana* (father). The nibana is the father's nephew and therefore his legal heir—whereas the son is his natural heir. In the dream he is successful in upholding the claim he dare not uphold in real life; he remains in possession of the father's land, i. e., of the mother.

This society is based on a series of displacements of the Oedipus situation from the father-mother-son situation to the uncle-aunt-nephew situation and then to the brother-in-law-wife-husband situation. This grade they have really made; they have never progressed beyond the mother (sister) fixation in favour of the wife. Therefore society in general is based on a gift-exchange, that is, on continued reassurance of mutual good will between two clans. But the whole technique of the festival shows the powerful hostile strivings they are trying to overcome. There is a special technical name for fights that break out at a sagari. (Ceremonial dividing of food.) This is how a sasara starts:

There was a *guyau* (dividing feast—sagari) at Nuadubu.⁽¹⁾ A man, Donakiya, got his present and he was so happy that he ran and threw a spear at his hereditary enemy, a Lomitawa man, called Guama-eruma. The latter pulled the spear out, rushed at the fleeing Donakiya man, speared him in the back and cut his neck with an axe. Then the Donakiya people attacked the Lomitawa and the Lomitawa ran with the dead body.

I witnessed a similar, though bloodless, *sasara* at the Nadinadia *sagari*. This is what happened. On the platform⁽²⁾ were Doyayani and

(1) Village in the district of Koyaburi.

(2) The yams are on the platform; to be on the platform is an honorary function.

Mwadinou with their wives and Nabudiga, Bobolidea. To Kuyore—these are Nadinadia people—they passed on two bundles of yam to Diaiki to divide it with the Spupu group. This is reciprocating presents which the Sipupu people, their *bukunao* (distant matrilinear relations in this case; members of the same totem), had brought them for the sagari. Now Diaiki started to divide the pile of yams when his brother Horia shouted:⁽¹⁾

Mane kagu kukasine ma yahanewa ma yaguyay!
Where my share you hand over to me and I go up and I divide!

Diaki said, "Come up!" But Horia would not come up; he just went on quarrelling. So finally Diaiki lost his patience and in his rage he threw one of the yams from the platform. The yam hit Maginisi's wife on the head. She started to cry and then Kamewedo took his spear, ready to spear Diaiki and Moria. Kamewedo is real *tasina* (brother) to Maginisi and *kana gwara tasina* (remote brother, i. e., cousin) to Diaiki and Horia. Now we see him as champion of his sister's cause against those two. He wants to spear Diaiki and he say to Horia, "You were angry; you are a good gardener, so now you go and pay." This taunt makes the lame man furious because he can't work much and is not a good gardener. The fight is now between the Sipupu people. Daniel, the mission teacher, takes his spear and knife, while Nuaruba, our cook-boy, holds him. Biloli, another brother of the crying woman, tries to rush up to the platform to cut Diaiki but he is held by Seguragura. With Seguragura we have the first Nadinadia man mixed up in the battle. Now they all come in. Yarekeni in a blind rage shouts that he will kill all the people of Sipupu and starts to demolish Nabudiga's house. Nabudiga is a local man who has nothing to do with the whole affair. Buyari hangs on to Yarekeni to stop him. Daniel as representing the Methodist mission rushes around in a frenzy, kicking everybody, ostensibly to stop the fight, but in reality making more trouble himself, so Maa, my head boy, holds him. Notura shouts *Lokapuya*—lock him up—meaning Diaiki. Diaiki and Nabudiga were preparing stones to throw at Biloli. Finally to Ura the Kelologeia (name of village) policeman (Government policeman) comes up to me and asks me what he should do about it. I ask them who started it and Kamwedo who threw the spear is re-

(3) Horia is lame, a leper and self-conscious about this.

sponsible. So I tell To Ura to "lokapuya" (handcuff=lock up) the man.. This takes place without any resistance and ends the whole thing. Five minutes later we are all peacefully saying goodbye to each other and going home. I tell the policeman to release the "culprit." It is all over.

The point is that they are always ready to be offended about something. Now theoretically the members of one *susu* (the brothers Diaiki and Horia) are *one*, "their body is the same," so they cannot be fighting each other. Actually of course there is plenty of repressed or merely suppressed hostility. Once the fight starts all the repressed aggression is on the surface. They come to the *sagari* expecting to be appeased and on the look-out for an opportunity to be offended.

At one of the preparatory ceremonies which introduced the Sipupu *sagari* Zakaria was offended because the platform was filled up and they put his pile⁽¹⁾ beside it on the ground. So he said to Gabebe, "Your pile is on the platform and where is your pig?" Meaning that Gabebe had no right to a greater share in the honours of the day because he had not contributed a pig to the feast. So now Bakira got angry, took Gabebe's pile down and put Zakaria's pile up. Now Zakaria and Gabebe are both offended and leave. Finally Notura solves the problem. He makes the platform a bit longer and puts both piles up again.

Another quarrel was between Tedi and his wife, Yamarere. The *galebeda* (counter-present in the gift-exchange) was due to her father-in-law. She delayed bringing him the yams because she did not want Diaiki (the father-in-law; same person as above) to hand it over to strangers. Her idea was that he should eat the food when the strangers had left. He, however, told her, "Why don't you give my father his *galabeda*? He is tired." Tedi regarded his wife's slowness in handing over the *galabeda* as a slur upon his filial sentiments. She became angry at this that she got a knife to stab him. He said, "Why quarrel? If you want to show your strength, show it by making the *galabeda*." By this time Diaiki got excited and he ran back to his house and brought his daughter-in-law a basketful of yams—so that she should then give them to him as a *galabeda*.

Show your strength or aggression by giving presents is the leading idea and they are always giving presents. The gift exchange is like a war or fight with each person having his own opponent—they say. In-

(1) His pile is not what he will receive, it is what he has brought.

group aggression becomes the social tie when it takes the form of a *reaction-formation*.

Besides these actual and unpremeditated outbreaks of aggression at the *sagari* there is also a customary and prescribed aggression. This is connected with the *showing of the ancestral skulls*.

We were told that the skulls had to be shown at the *sagari*. Bebe (Sawaitoya) of Boasitoroba would like to bring out the skulls of his uncles but the Mission and the Government won't allow it. I made inquiries and so far as the Government was concerned, Sir Hubert Murray replied that he was not aware of the existence of the custom and would not think of forbidding it. Probably local Mission teachers had been forbidding the custom and had told the natives that the Government was behind them. I was first told that the custom had been forbidden because it was considered unhygienic to dig the skull out, but this seemed improbable. From a description of what actually happens or rather of what used to happen, however, the reason for the prohibition will be evident.

One of the dances at the *sagari* was called *Duguma Rara* (i. e., house model blood). A group of men who were hidden in the jungle behind the village emerge from their hiding place. The two foremost carry the small house models called *duguma*, the next three carry skulls. The skulls are washed, have green leaves in their mouth and the men hold them in the left hand close to their body. They march in a slow dignified way, the first *duguma* bearer starts dancing and then the rest dance too. Slowly the other follow suit and dance after their leader. At a wink given by Bebe they all suddenly disappear, so suddenly that we cannot take any photos. The reason for this sudden disappearance is that the bearers of the *dugma* ought really to have come out and attacked the whole crowd with spears. This is how it used to be and the people would run, excepting a few who were good fighters and these would stand up against them. The reason why he sent them away was that everybody including himself as crying, and the mourning about the death might easily end in a general brawl.

The tense situation between own group and in-laws is dramatized in the mourning ritual. Whereas in every other culture the nearest relatives are the most prominent mourners, here we find that the nearest kin are exempt from mourning. A mother and a child, a brother and a sister, an uncle and a nephew do not mourn for each other. *They are all members of the same susu (breast clan), their bodies are the same so they cannot mourn for the dead person who is part of themselves.* This is the

native theory. A husband or wife, a father or his children, however, are the principal mourners and the members of the in-law clan are the other mourners. The mourners wear dirty or old trunks or grass-skirts, abstain from intercourse, from all forms of merriment, and from the better kinds of food. The principal mourner, the widow or widower, is also in an enclosure (*libu*) which the natives compared to jail. They are released from their mourning and permitted to behave like other people when they make a present of yams to the non-mourners. These yams are the *bwabware* (taboo) or the ceremony of handing over and removing the taboo is the *bwabware*. The meaning of all this is that the in-law group are under the suspicion of having killed the dead by their evil magic. If they were not zealous mourners this suspicion would become a certainty. Therefore they are in jail, they are being punished. Their sentence terminates when they have made the offering to the aggrieved—the dead person and his in-group relations being regarded as identical. The latter are seemingly above suspicion. However if they fail to eat the *bwabware* things look bad. Because no barau who had killed a relation would eat the *bwabware*, the food would kill him. That is, if there were hostility against the dead person in him this hostility would turn back again the ego in the moment of introjection or identification.

This leads us to the beliefs about the disease called *rara* (blood).

Keguma (if) *ida* (our) *buuna* (relation) *ta'unu* (we kill) *be* (and) *to'aani* (we eat) *rara* (blood) *inuda* (hurts us) *be* (and) *tamamrwarwasa* (we die) *manuida sana* (own bird because)

That is, they die because they have eaten a member of their own totem clan (bird). The food fills the body from the inside; they get hot and it burns them. A man of the pigeon totem killed another pigeon and the blood killed him. The *rara* is also valid for the father's clan. They cannot eat the food of a village whose members have killed one of their fathers—if they do this the blood in their body will kill them. They can not even enter a village in which the father has been killed because the blood would come up from their leg and kill them.

Tubuyay of Sipupu tells me: "If we eat from the hands of the people who have killed and eaten our 'fathers' or 'grandparents'⁽¹⁾ we find a worm in our inside; it stays there and our belly grows big and we die."

The disease is either called *rara* (blood) or *ikaika* (it eats) because the worm eats the person from the inside. It can hardly be accidental

(1) Meaning of paternal and maternal.

that the word for worm is *manumanua* and bird or totem bird is *manua*. The protecting symbol of the clan is also the dangerous introject. The people who have the *rara* do not die a natural death. They are killed by their own kin or rather they are buried alive. A man called Taisania (or Kakulosi) had the *rara* in the village of Bwebwena kaytoa (Sipupu). When we came home from a trip to Kelologeia we found the whole village mourning and wailing for a dead man. Finally it turned out that the dead man was not dead but that according to them he was about to die. We went up to his house and there we found him beside a fire with his son and an old woman taking care of him. We went home to our house and soon a messenger came, telling us that the "dead man" would like to have some coffee. This was easy but I was in a more difficult situation when another messenger came and asked me to give my consent that they should bury him alive.⁽¹⁾ Now if I agree to this I can get into serious difficulties with the law for conniving at murder. If I disagree I am not a good anthropologist and it will be a serious obstacle in my further work. Why? Because if I forbid them to carry out one of their customs I am not siding with their culture against the white man's culture and they will be careful to conceal from me anything they think I may not approve of. So I played for time and suggested they should wait till tomorrow. Next morning they told me he had died a natural death and had been buried immediately—a version I did not believe for a moment.

Daniel the Mission teacher visited him that evening. The man said, "You help them to bury me now!" Previously he had been shouting at the top of his voice, calling Tubuyay and Bulema, his uncles, to help him against his in-law relations who were killing him by black magic. Now, however, he wants to be buried. The members of his own clan ran away into the bush and they sent the in-law relations to ask him whether he is willing to be buried. He agreed. So they took him by the hand, and led him into the bush. He dug his own grave and they broke the branches of the *guara-uto* and *kekura* (trees) to line the grave with. The branches and leaves of these trees prevent the sickness from coming out. The people who are burying him now get angry with him and tell him, "In the evening you will go to your relations and kill them!" This means, "I suppose you will do that," and they are angry with him because of his intention to kill others. A man called Sawaria who had this disease had also special *nabwasua* (incantations) by which

(1) A white man in their eyes represents the Government.

he could kill them quickly. Whenever his relations went near him they would dream that fire had burnt their house and this meant that they had caught the sickness.

My informants say that they bury these people alive "Because of the bad smell." Some waste away when they get this sickness and go on talking "as if they were alive." Taisanina kept worrying about somebody else eating what grows in his garden. The real reason why they are in such a hurry to bury him is quite different. The sick man wants to get rid of his sickness and of his life at the same time. If any of his relations go near him the sickness, (and the soul of the sick man—I add this) goes into them, he dies quickly. So naturally they all run away; he is out to kill them and they, through the in-laws, kill him as a means of prevention. "If they put him in the grave before he dies then it is finished." Evidently, however, they are not convinced of this because although they always do this they say that the spirit comes out of the grave and throws stones at people. The face of the ghost is like the moon and its tongue is like fire. The people burn the dead man's house and go into the bush for a month but the ghost continues to haunt the village and whenever it gets a chance to do so it will embrace one of its own clan and that person will get the disease "from the smell." The survivors are evidently hostile to the person who has the *rara* disease because they kill him. The hostility of the ghost is merely the reflection of the hostility of the survivors. Now why would they feel hostile? Because this person has broken through a taboo, done what they would all like to do. By eating the food or even by walking in the village of an enemy he has symbolically identified himself with those who have killed his "fathers" or the members of his mother's clan.

This is how the *rara* works out in real life. Ramoramo went to make a clearing; Duyero, his brother, saw this. So he went to Ramoramo's clearing, took the sticks and marked out and claimed the ground as his own. Ramoramo challenged him to fight in the garden, the victor remaining in possession. But Duyero did not turn up and therefore Ramoramo kept the ground. If he had killed his brother he would have had to leave the village and garden. Because any food he ate or even the fire from the old village would have killed him with the *rara* sickness.

The food is identical with the man he has killed and would take revenge on him, kill him from the outside. Fortune says: "In one Dobuan district there is the belief that the spirit of a person who has died with a swollen stomach is dangerous. It seeks to enter the body of another person and to cause him to die of a swollen stomach also." "Everywhere

where Dobuan is spoken it is believed that if the killer returns to the place of the killed, the blood of the killed will enter his body and swell it until he dies."⁽¹⁾

The comparison of the belief in the neighboring Dobu shows the correctness of my interpretation because at Normanby Island anybody who eats food in the village of the murderer gets the *rara*, i. e., he becomes thereby the murderer of his father or uncle.

The Dobuans put these people into a cave and kill them; they tie him hand and foot before he is dead.

"He has breathing, his mouth works in speech crying for compassion, shrieking, shouting. He is as one alive but he is dead. Only the blood in him, the blood of the one he slew has entered him, breathes, moves his mouth in speech. You think it is a man breathing, speaking. It is not. It is blood."

My Normanby Island informants also called the sick person "Blood" or "It eats" by the name of the disease. As the sick person has killed his father (or a member of the maternal clan) he has thereby become identical with the father in his inside and by killing him they are really repeating the condemned deed.

If Ramoramo kills his brother why doesn't society punish the offender directly? It is easy to understand this in terms of native theory. The clan is a unity and acts against another clan whenever it has suffered the loss of one of its members (note the double meaning of the word member). But if the offender belongs to the clan also nothing can be done about it. In killing his brother he has 'killed himself' and therefore he will kill himself by eating the clan's food. He has killed the *susu*, the breast, the breast now in him will therefore kill him.

The mechanism of *turning against the ego* (Wendung gegen die eigene Person) is fully explained by the dual-unity situation. Here the aggression is *mother-directed* and this means *self-directed*. *This is basis of punishment, penal law as far as the in group is concerned while for the outgroup the basis is projection.*

Bulema has an incantation for making a man turn against his own relatives with the result that they would get the *rara* (blood disease).

(1) R. F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu*, 1932.

The incantation shows the alternate functioning of the mechanisms of aggression turned toward or against the in-group or against the ego.

For turning the inside⁽¹⁾

Dadabwa—snake or Suraray⁽²⁾
 You live in the gully of Bwebweso⁽³⁾
 Your stomach becomes muddy⁽⁴⁾
 Cutting the gahagaha bush⁽⁵⁾
 The mind slips off it goes for the relations
 Your mind slips off⁽⁶⁾
 It forgets all relationship
 Your inside turns round.

The snake of Suaray went to live in a gully at Bwebweso. The east wind blew the snake up to the top of a hill and made the snake's mind angry. The snake came down the hill, cut all the wood with its tooth and then cut its own tail off from the navel downwards. When they say this incantation they hold a sleeping man's navel with their hand. After having said this incantation, if a man does not go to war he will beat his wife till she dies.

Bulema has this story and incantation from his father's clan. In that clan it was the custom long ago that when their relations from another village came to see them they would tell their wives to prepare the vegetables and then they would kill and eat them. They made magic on each other to do this, but a man can also make magic on himself. However after having eaten their own relations they got the *rara*.

The interrelatedness of aggression turned against the Ego, in-group and out-group aggression is also well brought out by the data on *theft* and *suicide* in this society. The ideal of the group is the *esa-esa*, the rich man or famous man who gives without expecting a counter-gift. As I was actually giving them rice, tobacco, candies all the time and not expecting any customary counter-gift I was the materialized ideal of the

(1) Making a person angry so he goes to war.

(2) Hill behind Weyoko, Bulema's village.

(3) The spirit mountain, other world.

(4) The turning around of the inside and the stomach becoming muddy both mean the same—anger.

(5) For a fish-line.

(6) All inhibitions cease; the mind (will, aggression) "slips off;" he will kill his own relations.

group. In everyday life this ideal is never achieved because they do have *esə-esas*, people who are rich in gardens and yams and can make a big display, they certainly never do this without thinking of what they are going to get for it as a return gift. This they will strenuously deny but anybody who leaves a *sagari* with them will hear their remarks on the poor gifts they have got and on the far better gifts they gave their hosts when the latter came to their village. To be accused of being *gewana* (desirous) or *ose* (stingy) is a terrible thing. A rich man (*es-esa*) is all right (*boboana*); a *tay besobeso* (man anyhow), i. e., not a good gardener is socially bad (*to kumalina*.) But worst of all is the accusation of being a thief because it implies utmost poverty, i. e., lack of food. Therefore they will avoid making this accusation because they would be afraid that the person would commit suicide.

This is what happened at Dauwada.⁽¹⁾ Bouduna, wife of Taretare, was a woman who had always been stealing ever since her childhood, (case of kleptomania). This time she went to Sine Pweuri's house and took out some yams. Since Pweuri caught her and said, "Now what is that? You open my house and take my seeds out! You were the one who dug out your brother-in-law's seeds too!" So she cut the other woman's yam basket to pieces.

Bouduna got angry and made a string. She went into the jungle and committed suicide by hanging herself on a tree. So they cut her down and now they are angry at the person who caused her death and will kill by black magic.

It is important to note in this connection that kleptomania or the desire to steal, to take things from others, is attributed to *Silili*;⁽²⁾ this is a mythological being, best translated as "the inciter" who impels people to kill, to go to war, and to steal. Theft is taking something away from others, a form of aggression. Undoubtedly the fact that the object stolen is both *food* and *seed*, that a house has to be opened and despoiled has a lot to do with it from an emotional point of view.⁽³⁾

The typically Normanby Island form of suicide is the *isiwapa*; that is, when somebody leaves his own village and goes to the traditional enemy of the village inducing them to kill and eat him. A case of what

(1) Seguragura (of Nadinadia) in giving this account tells me that Dauwada is a great place for suicides.

(2) Cf. on Yaboayne, a war-god of Duau, Roheim, "Yaboaine, a War God of Normanby Island." *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*. II, 3, 1941, 130.

(3) Cf. the paper quoted above.

would have been *isiwapa* in old times happened in my immediate environment.

My head boy was very useful in helping me with my work but he liked to take a little extra tea or coffee home when my wife was not looking. I prevented her from saying anything about it but the tension was sort of hanging in the air. One day he comes rushing up to me pale with fury, asking for his pay and telling me that he is leaving instantly. My wife had offended him and he would not stay one minute. The man had a crazy, wild stare and looked positively dangerous. He was hanging around for another day and I had my revolver handy till he went. In about a month or so he was back and now I asked him what had been the matter. He told me how it happened. I was sitting under my house with a group of natives after breakfast, waiting for him to come and help me with my work. My wife, who was anxious not to keep me waiting and also not to offend him (knowing how easily they took offence) shouted over to him (he was in his house; the distance was just about like the other side of the street) telling him that I was waiting, but then she added considerably, "You have your breakfast first and then come!"

This was what caused the catastrophe. It so happened that he already had had breakfast once, though how on earth my wife was to know that he could not explain. So he was accused of desiring to have breakfast twice, i. e., of *oral greed*, a terrible accusation which was of course absolutely true.

Sipeta, a middle-aged woman of Boasitoroba, had a quarrel with her brother Sako. The origin of the quarrel was a pig, the property of Sipeta and her husband, To Digwaya. The pig ate some yams in Sakoo's garden. Sako was so angry that he chopped the walls of Sipeta's house with a knife. Sipeta, not to be outdone, chopped every yam out of Sako's garden. Sipeta's husband scolded Sako for quarrelling with his sister. Sako was so angry that he speared the pig but then he took it as a marriage gift to To Digweya. Sako was in such a rage that he went *isiwapa* to Duau. In pre-white times this would have meant death because the Duau people would have killed and eaten him. Sako's wife started crying, "Why did he go to Duau? When is he coming back? Don't commit suicide! If he had quarrelled with me that would have been a reason for suicide because I am a stranger but the sister is no reason for suicide, that does not matter." Finally Sako gave her (Sipeta) a knife as a peace-offering and that was the end of it. In folk tales if somebody feels offended because he or she gets only poor food they get

angry and commit suicide by running away into the jungle in order to be eaten by cannibal demons. In one folk tale a group of people who go out to war turn round and attack their own village and kill their own fathers and mothers and relations.

If we start with the assumption of an original dual unity situation we can trace a certain pattern that runs right through all these social situations.

The original situation of the child is that of dual unity; the social unit is the matrilinear *susu* (breast). In the uterine situation the unity of mother and child is real and absolute; in the post-uterine situation it is still real enough but with a decreasing degree of reality. Out of this situation the child grows into an independent being in a series of maternal frustrations and corresponding infantile aggressions. To these two we must add a third; and of introjections. The introjection is there to counteract the infantile aggression or "away from the mother" trend; as soon as it has taken place, however, the aggression is mobilized against the introjected imago (super-ego). In Duau society we have the *susu* (breast), the group of those who are descended from the same uterine ancestor, as the social unit. Society is therefore based on the denial of growth or the "away from the mother" tendency. The members of this fictive unity have "one body" and are supposed never to harbor any hostility against each other. But after each death, that is, whenever the mother-child unity is disrupted,⁽¹⁾ they are tested by eating the *bwabware* which will automatically kill them for any hostile emotions against the members of their own *susu*. Why? Because the mechanism of aggression turned against the Ego is actually evolved in the dual unity situation (frustrating mother—aggression—mother—ego) and therefore is supposed to operate in the fictive equivalent of the same situation. The case of the *rara* sickness is instructive. Undoubtedly killing a near relative is a great crime in their eyes. Yet society does not take any steps against the perpetrator of the crime. The sanction is automatic and again oral; he eats the food, i. e., he eats the man he has killed and his own aggression kills him. Actually, however, he has to move out of the village to forestall such a possibility and with enemies lurking all over the place the loss of the village tie would probably have been fatal. In this case we see clearly how a psychological mechanism is the basis of a practical, legal or social reality.

Next we have the *in-law group*. Hostility is here: (a) rigorously

(1) Cf. Roheim, "Death and Mourning Customs of Normanby Island." (to be published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*).

tabooed and turned towards the in-group (Bulema beats his own sister instead of beating his brother-in-law); (b) admitted and institutionalized in the "You don't love me enough" type of reproaches which are customary among in-laws and are then triumphantly refuted in the food distribution ritual; (c) admitted also in a non-socialized form in the accusation of in-law black magic.

Finally we have the out-group with blood feud and cannibal raids; here aggression is socially admitted with a ceremonial re-identification with the victim.⁽¹⁾

Crime is *endo-group aggression*, just as neurosis is endo-personal aggression, or rather *too much* endo-personal aggression, *too much* super-ego. In a book on "The Origin and Function of Culture"⁽²⁾ I have shown that growing up means regaining the paradise lost of infancy; at least from the phantasy or unconscious point of view. The regained maternal object is the wife and the transition between childhood and adult age is puberty. At puberty we have two factors both making for an increase in criminality. One emphasized by Anna Freud is the biological increase of Id forces at puberty. Libido and aggression are not tied down; the object-cathexis of the past (mother) is being relinquished and the new object-cathexis (wife) is not yet formed. Literature in general recognizes the increase in criminal tendencies at the age of puberty. Primitive society has the same point of view; the lawlessness of the neophytes is tolerated up to a certain degree.⁽³⁾ The institutions or rites designed to combat this lawlessness or to effect socialization are the puberty ceremonies. In the puberty rites as we have seen above the boy introjects ("eats") the fathers, i. e., he becomes a member of the men's society. Another significant feature of the ritual is a symbolic castration and the formation of a super-ego, i. e., handing over the body-tjurunga which is both the neophyte and the ancestor of whom he is a reincarnation. Furthermore the ritual as a transition rite represents separation and aggregation, i. e., the infant pushed away from and holding on to the mother.⁽⁴⁾ A curious feature of primitive law is, however, that direct in-group aggression is not punished openly until some kind of centralized authority develops from the original gerontocracy⁽⁵⁾—

(1) Cf. Roheim, "Yaboayne, a War God of Normanby Island." *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*. II, 3, 1941, 130.

(2) Roheim, *The Origin and Function of Culture*, 1943.

(3) Cf. for Central Australia Roheim, *The Riddle of the Sphinx*, 1934, in general H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* 1902. O. Klieneber *Über-Pubertät und Psychopathie*. 1914. 4.

(4) Cf. Roheim, Transition Rites. *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, XI, 1942, 336-374.

(5) Gerontocracy, cf. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*. 1911, I, 335.

the "criminal" offences—theft, murder, rape, etc. I can only understand the use of this word if it is taken to stand for those wrongs which are commonly treated as criminal in European codes. For, in the Papuan societies which I have studied and I gather in the more primitive societies at large, such offences as these . . . really fall into the 'civil' category, but this seems to be largely true of primitive wrongs in general. They are mainly offenses committed by one individual against another or by one group against another or by an individual against a group of which he is not a member. *When we bear in mind the corporate nature of the primitive group as well as the fact that the individual merges himself so completely in it, the word 'civil' may be taken to apply to all such wrongs as are really characteristic of primitive society.*⁽¹⁾ The 'criminal' offences, i. e., one which the individual commits against the group . . . are exceedingly uncommon."⁽²⁾ "That the taking of human life is not in itself considered wrong is indicated by the attitude towards infanticide which is declared to be common. To kill a grown person is, to say the least, hard on his feelings, not to mention those of his group. Not only is the victim a senseless little creature itself but it has not lived long enough to find a firm place in the sentiments of its owners or anyone else. Needless to say, if an outsider killed the baby it would be regarded as the most serious infringement of the family's rights."⁽³⁾

If the family as one *corpus*⁽⁴⁾ chooses to mutilate itself strangers cannot interfere. Just as the development of the individual is from primitive dual-unity to individuality, law evolves from the right of the group to protect its members against out-group aggression, to the right of the individual to be protected.

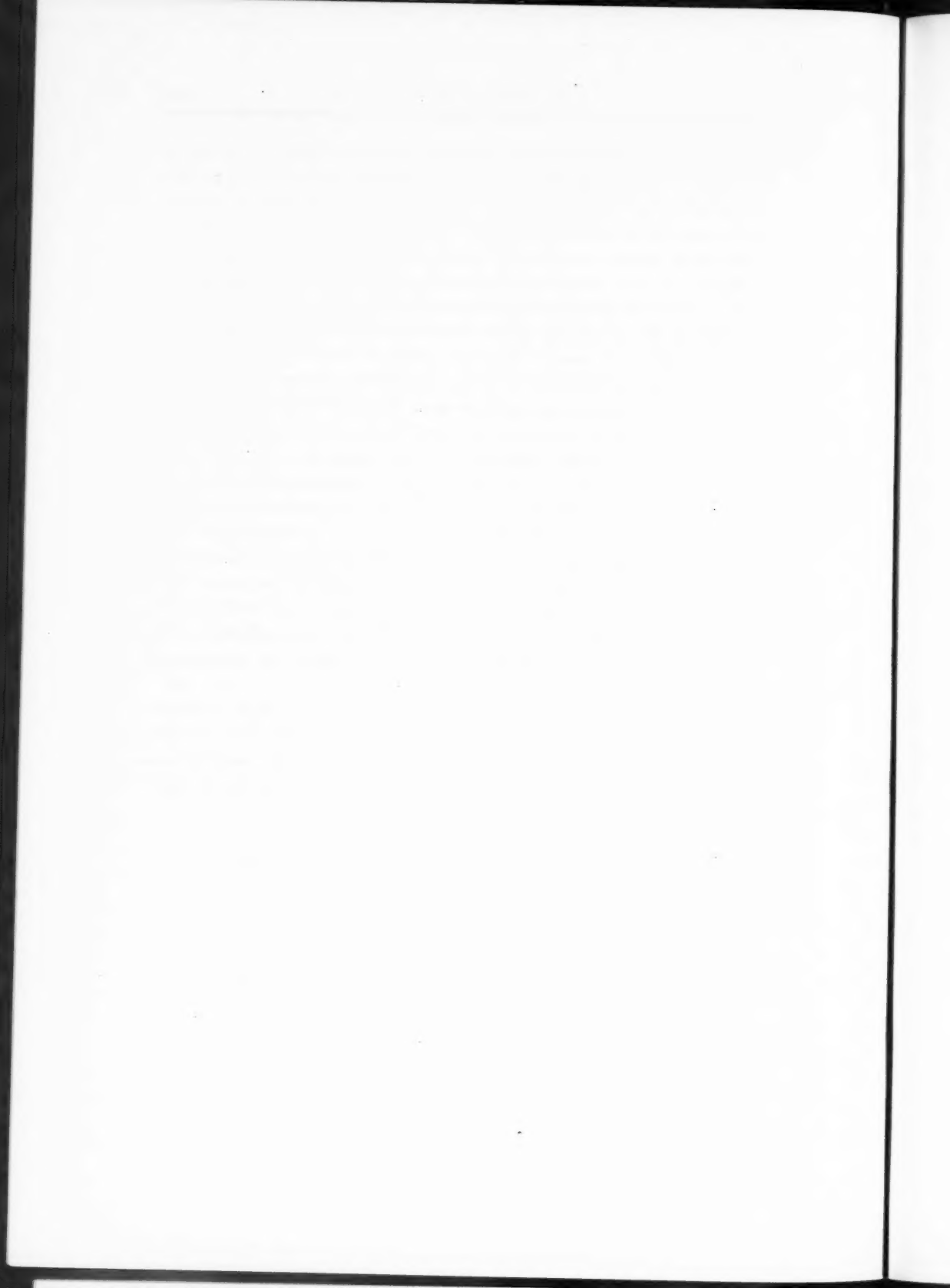
(To be continued in the next issue of the *Journal*)

(1) My italics.

(2) F. E. Williams, "Group Sentiment and Primitive Justice," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43 (1941), 531.

(3) Williams, *op cit.*, 534.

(4) Cf. the corporate nature of the clan.



Abstracts From Current Literature

A - Psychoanalysis

PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE MALE HOMOSEXUAL "MARRIAGE". BERNARD S. ROBBINS. *Psychoanalytic Review*. 30: 428-437, October 1943.

The view of the author regarding the genesis of homosexuality is somewhat at variance with concepts of other investigators in the field. He believes that overt homosexuality is an expression of a neurotic personality and that the constitutional elements involved are at best entirely secondary. He calls attention to the symptomatology of the so-called neurotic personality which includes suffering, unhappiness, limitations in ability to function socially with special emphasis on severe disturbances in interpersonal relationships and contradictory internal tendencies which lead to intense conflicts. All of these manifestations of lack of integrative power are met in the homosexual, as well as the neurotic personality. The conclusion from these two premises that homosexuality is essentially a neurosis seems at best faulty reasoning.

In support of the author's contention two cases are studied in detail. One was a man of virile appearance, of apparently quite manly behavior, impressive in his approach to other people to the point of being, if anything, a little too aggressive and decidedly positive in all of his reactions. He would impress one as being decidedly a manly type of individual but further analysis of his personality revealed that he considered himself omnipotent and the dominant personality in any contact he made with others. In his intense desire to sell himself to the other person, he would resort to charming manner, forcefulness, and any other device he could possibly use. Deeper analysis revealed, however, that this was done for the purpose of subjecting the other individual to his own personality and that it had its ultimate goal of utilizing the other person for his own needs. Back of it was a drive which had a cruelty and sustained-concentration.

The objective was to subjugate, tear down, and destroy.

The other case seemed to be the opposite—a male nurse who was abject in his behavior, accepting decisions of others with humility and deference and seemingly a totally inadequate personality. Beneath this, however, the same objective was noted as in the first case; namely, to secure the approval and to win over the personality of the other individual. Instead of doing this through the omnipotent, aggressive attack, he would accomplish it by ingratiating methods such as deference, humility, pleasant disposition, etc. Once having secured the confidence of the other person, his goal became that of subjugation and destruction. The first case was that of sado-narcissism whereas the second was that of sado-masochism. It will be noted that each, however, had the same ultimate goal. The "marriage" of these two individuals was for the purpose of undermining the individuality of the other and enslaving him, thus establishing what might be termed a "symbolic union." The prime essential of homosexual behavior thus becomes sadism. The author uses the concept of sadism not in its narrow sense of infliction of physical or mental violence on some individual in a specific way but his concept embraces the whole personal activity. The question to be raised at this point, of course, is how a "marriage" can be consummated by two individuals having the same objective. The merger demands the submergence of all individual interests for the common purpose of exploitation of others. The close relationship is necessary for the self support that it gives in the common task but it plays havoc with the individuals themselves and in the end, if persisted in, will destroy each. However, in homosexual "marriages" it is a well-known fact that they run their course and the partnership tends to break up automatically before sadistic impulses destroy either party. New affiliations are formed to pursue the same course again

and again. The ephemeral quality of the homosexual "marriage" is compared to the possibility of permanency in the heterosexual marriage is a very noticeable and distinguishing differentiation. Latent homosexuality is to be noted in all individuals which is expressed as a passionate craving to enslave and torture others. Adjustments to this impulse, however, are possible in the normally balanced individual and compromise measures effect a practical nullification of the destructive tendencies of the trend.

V. C. B.

HOSTILITY PATTERNS: DEVIATIONS FROM THE "UNIT ACT" OF HOSTILITY. DAVID M. LEVY. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 13:441-462, July, 1943.

This study illustrates the use of a standardized play situation, arranged as a sibling rivalry experiment, as a method of investigation of a particular patient. The child's phantasies, as revealed in known behavior, dreams, drawings, compositions, and the Rorschach Test, are investigated and compared with the hostility patterns as manifested in the S R play. The play situation used involved the representation through dolls of the older child and the new baby at the mother's breast. When the play was started the child was told that the mother had to feed the baby. Clay breasts were put on the mother doll, the baby was placed in position and encircled by the mother's arms, whereupon the mother was seated in a chair and a doll representing brother or sister was placed near the chair. The child was then told, "Now, this is the game. The brother comes and sees a new baby at the mother's breast. He sees it for the first time. Now what does he do?"

The patient was a boy, aged 11 years and 11 months at the time of referral. His sister, the only other child in the family, was 9 years, 5 months old. The presenting problems were disobedient and negativistic behavior, difficulty in making friends and undue sensitivity to criticism. At the time of the S R experiment, he was jealous of his sister and fought with her.

The fights were more in the nature of verbal spats with occasional blows.

The experiment was made in the 29th session. The paper reports the 6 trials verbatim and a detailed analysis of the responses with comments is made. The hostility patterns are clearly brought out in the analysis. The patient evidences a strong aggressive impulse with a tendency to quick release of destructive behavior, withheld from execution because of an intense fear of punishment and disapproval. There is evidence of strong anxiety shown by frequent "escapes" and "denials." In terms of the S R situation, he had not quite relinquished his position as the only child at the time of the play and his competitive, jealous behavior was not yet modified into acceptance.

The child's drawings (5 in 20 sessions) were analyzed under the headings of landscape, drawings containing animals and drawings of objects. In general, the drawings portray a competitive dog-eat-dog existence in a world full of danger and violence in which the patient is struggling along in the form of a helpless abandoned victim, trying to escape from the enemy, driven from pillar to post, finally resorting to suicide; and also in the form of a great hero, winning the applause of the crowd and vanquishing his foes.

The patient's 20 dreams are analyzed by Dr. Levy. Four deal with killing, four with crime, five are frank Oedipus dreams, etc. Rivalry with a boy or with his sister occurred in five of the twenty dreams.

Detailed analytic material is presented in the form of defense patterns in response to associations and interpretations and this fits in very well with the other data. The patient's stories and daydreams featured football teams, military battles, war strategy, detectives, criminals and boxers. He wrote poems about crimes and similar topics.

The Rorschach protocol (presented verbatim) indicates definite evidence of anxiety in an intelligent boy who is introverted and has a rich and very active imagination. The responses seem to confirm especially the content of the drawings.

The clinical data which follows all of the analyses is given in great detail and indicates how closely the S R play was able to reveal the pertinent features. The S R

play revealed the play of the boy's aggression. It told how he handled his hostilities. It uncovered the strong aggressive tendencies, the fear of release, the quick escape, and fitted well into the pattern described by his teachers of initial attack and compliance. The competitive tendencies and argumentation with recourse to authority so evident in the clinical data were easily implied from the S R play. Finally, the play, more than the observation of his behavior, clearly revealed his methods of defense against the anxiety set off by the aggressive impulse.

This study of hostility patterns through a standardized play situation cleverly contrived by Dr. Levy, reduced the act of hostility to its simplest form—the "unit act" which represents the child assaulting the baby, the attack being followed by punishing, restoring and self-justifying behavior. All of the other complex analyses of phantasy can be definitely related to this unit act of hostility.

Samuel B. Kutash,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

POST HOMICIDAL CONTRITION AND RELIGIOUS CONVERSION. ARTHUR N. FOXE. *The Psychiatric Quarterly*. 17:565-579, October, 1943.

The theme of this paper is a psychological study of the notorious Snyder-Gray murder. The author gives particular attention to the psychological background of Judd Gray, the murderer, as presented by himself, and he further examines the psychic and religious transformations he undergoes subsequent to the murder and prior to his execution. The material upon which this interesting psychiatric study is based consists of a series of letters written by the murderer to a friend of his after his conviction and condemnation to death by electrocution.

In describing the crime itself, Dr. Foxe points out that it occurred at the peak of an inflationary period (1927) and that the participants were products of an era when the American world had run a little mad with success. The murder was accomplished by hitting Mr. Snyder on

the head, while he slept, with a sash weight wrapped in paper. Both Mrs. Snyder and Gray participated actively in the crime. Gray then bound and gagged Mrs. Snyder. Although striking her had been pre-arranged, so as to bolster up her alibi, he could not bring himself to hit Mrs. Snyder on the head with the sash weight. Her story of what had happened and its chimerical quality broke down and she implicated Gray. The trial was a lengthy one and the testimony filled six volumes but the jury returned its verdict in 30 minutes. Gray and Mrs. Snyder were executed in January of 1928, 10 months after the crime. While in jail and in the death house, Gray wrote a series of letters to an old friend. These epistles were made available to Dr. Foxe for scientific study through the *Psychiatric Quarterly* to whom they were lent by Mr. Gray's correspondent.

Before turning his attention to the letters themselves, the author brings out some interesting observations concerning the crime itself, the psychiatric significance of the notoriety attending it and the behavior of the general public. He states that the vicarious participation of the public in the murder acted as a purge for their human emotions. He compares this phenomenon with the ancient practices of the sacrifice and its ritual through which the entire population became "purged" spiritually.

The fact that Gray was a traveling corset salesman leads to the analysis by Dr. Foxe that merely stating that he had scopophilic interests was not enough but that one must conclude that he became a corset salesman because of his psychic readiness "to subdue and bind women" symbolically. Mrs. Snyder was running amuck and would continue to do so until some powerful force tied her up or slowed her down. Her nightmarish story to the police was that a big powerful man had overcome and bound her, had robbed the house, and must have killed her husband. She probably most craved and needed to be subdued and bound by a powerful force or man. Gray, from his occupation, only assisted women to become subdued and bound, but he himself was not powerful physically or morally so he couldn't complete the job by striking her with the

sash weight. The precise method of execution of the crime and the failure to carry out the detail of striking Mrs. Snyder were thus both in harmony with the personalities of the participants.

There were 14 letters written by Gray to his friend dating from two months after the crime to three days before the execution. The letters present two main and interrelated themes: a gradually waning preoccupation with mundane affairs and a progressive awareness and growth in spiritual, religious convictions.

In Gray's first letter, although there is some resignation, the tendency is to bring God into the picture to help him and his family in immediate issues, to accuse others, to get further forgiveness and to give thanks for the life which he still has. The second letter, written two weeks later, shows more tranquility. The statements have a religious tinge, but in addition there are reminiscences of experiences in the years before he met Mrs. Snyder. The third letter is largely reminiscent but for one paragraph which at once shows resignation and reluctance. The fourth letter gives a rather childlike conception of God, "Our Lord has given me all those pleasant memories to bring here with me to live over as I will and please." Gray's concept of religion, thus far, is that of the plain workaday man; with solace but no real theological depth. The fifth, sixth and seventh letters each indicate some further spiritual change in the "peace" that he feels.

The next three letters were written while Gray was awaiting an answer to his appeal. Each long letter contains reference to God, and it is to God that Gray seems to leave the arbitrament. He still connects God considerably with this life. The twelfth letter is epochal for Gray for in it he tells that he has learned of the adverse decision on his appeal. It is the "fatalizing" blows of reality with no other egress which act as the loosening force that permits him to have further thoughts of God. (This concept of fatalizing force is fully explained in Dr. Foxe's monograph, "The Life and Death Instincts"). The letter clearly shows Gray's conversion rapidly going on.

The thirteenth letter is dated four days before Christmas and about three weeks

before the execution. The letter is occupied largely with religious thoughts. The spiritual-material separation is almost complete as Gray says, "The wages of sin is death, But the Gift of God is Eternal Life Through Jesus Christ." Gray's last letter, written a few days before the execution finds him pretty much beyond delaceration and at peace. He no longer fears death and has complete faith in God.

The author's interpretation of Gray's post-homicidal contrition and religious conversion is based on the fact that arrest, trial and denial of appeal were the only "fatalizing" forces that he had had in years. Following each "fatalizing" blow of reality Gray became aware of other worlds and began to think a little more deeply and broadly. His sense of awe, his heightened sense of awareness, began in his first days in jail. The three blows helped him to detach himself from worldly and material things except for their embodiment in faith. Upon his faith, hope was built, at first partially in this world and later, almost entirely in its spiritual continuation. His recognition of death was not so dreadful to him as those who are locked in Western Culture imagine.

Dr. Foxe's paper is replete with excerpts from the letters to illustrate each stage in Gray's religious conversion and makes an impressive documentary of the conclusions drawn.

Samuel B. Kutash,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

FURTHER STUDIES ON PATHOLOGICAL WANDERING (FUGUES WITH THE IMPULSE TO WANDER). E. STANGEL. *The Journal of Mental Science*. 89:224-241, No. 375, April 1943.

The present article is one of a series of three on the subject of fugues which should be read in toto in order to obtain the complete viewpoints of Stangel on this subject. In Vol. I, Page 168 (October 1939) of this *Journal*, Stangel's article entitled "Studies on the Psychopathology of Compulsory Wandering—A Preliminary Report" was abstracted. This appeared originally in the *British Journal of Medical*

Psychology (18:250-254, Part 2). In addition to these two articles, the third one which appeared in the *Journal of Mental Science* (18:572-599, October 1941) under the title of "On the Etiology of Fugue States" by the same author, should be read. Stangel takes a somewhat different viewpoint of the etiology and significance of the fugue than that of most investigators. The term originally connoted wandering under strong impulse and having associated with it a narrowing of the field of consciousness often associated with amnesia. It was thought that the condition was essentially a mechanism of escape without any particular reference to the type of behavior during the episode. Considerable stress in the past has been placed upon the differentiation of the so-called hysterical and epileptic fugue. Stangel believes that this differentiation is entirely beside the question as the etiological factors are the same in each case. He does not find the factors involved are primarily those of hysteria or epilepsy but that it is a condition of a type which only the coincidence of neurotic and psychotic mechanisms can produce. The previous speculation along the lines that a person subject to fugue states possesses a double personality, Stangel believes, is purely obsolete thinking. "Double personality" so-called relates to an entirely different set of factors.

Stangel also deplors the tendency of a number of investigators to give the name of fugue to certain transient states of altered consciousness, irresponsible of the behavior of the patient. The diagnosis of fugue states should not be made upon the behavior of the individual but rather upon the underlying mechanism involved. Fugues, of course, may exist in the form of clouded or twilight states with hysterical loss of memory and without the compulsion to wander. Stangel would not consider these as typical fugue states because the urge to wander is one of the essential factors in his definition of the condition.

The essential factors involved in the typical fugue as given by Stangel are the impulse to wander after emergence from a prodromal state of depression or from a mixed state with depressive and hypomanic features. The period of depression is

not simply a preceding symptom but is a part of the total picture very much as is the case of prodromal symptoms in epilepsy. The wandering is an outgrowth of the depressive mood. Wanderings seldom lead to complete amnesia but there is always a clouding of consciousness. These wanderings, however, are not as aimless as they appear. They seem to be hysterical in nature but it is not a true conversion hysteria and there are many factors present which cannot be elicited from the purely hysterical case alone. The wandering provides release from emotional tension and the behavior is symbolic in the same sense as that of psychotics and neurotics. It is this fact that has led Stangel to line up fugue states with neurotic and psychotic conditions. In most of his cases threats of suicide are common. Also there is present the symbolical search for some missing member of the family. Stangel hastens to add, however, that the Oedipus situation could not possibly develop all of the symptoms noted in compulsive wandering.

Freud and Abraham have laid particular stress on the abnormal organization of the oral libido in fugue states. The regression involved leads to the development of oral introjection of external objects. Stangel agrees to this and is inclined to think that this is one of the fundamental factors involved in the mechanism of fugues but calls attention to the fact that the diaries or other records kept by these compulsive wanderers during their episodes contain little or no unconscious material. The oral introjection of external objects is more completely in accord with true melancholic states than with the prodromal condition of depression met in fugues.

Vagrancy, which rates as a misdemeanor in most states, frequently is based upon inadequate personality. Not infrequently, however, compulsive wandering is encountered in this group. Stangel clearly indicates that out of the common background of fugue cases, the impulse to suicide and certain crimes may arise. None of his cases were guilty of criminal conduct, but the strong sense of depersonalization, with euphoria and recklessness provide the situation under which compulsive criminal acts can readily take place.

A number of cases are quoted by the author and the brief discussions given in each instance bring out clearly his contentions regarding the mechanism of fugues. Several types were studied at greater length, especially one or two showing the cyclothymic nature of the individual. In the most widely discussed case he presents there was a constitutional basis for depression with thoughts of suicide. Wilson, Schmideberg and Henderson have expressed the opinion that fugue is a symbolic suicidal act. The fugue wandering state takes the place of suicide for in these cases suicide rarely is attempted. This interpretation was clearly brought out in the citation of the case just mentioned.

In summary Stangel's conception of

compulsive wanderings in fugue states is that they are likely to occur in the cyclothymic or depressive individual who is constitutionally sensitized toward reactions of this type. Out of this situation a condition arises which is closely allied in behavior to that of neurotics and psychotics. The wandering state serves as a tension release and also as a substitute for suicidal thoughts. The behavior during the wandering state is symbolic and not purposeless. In many cases the absence of the member of the family seems to provide an unconscious motivation for wandering. There is no need to relate the condition specifically to the clinical entities of epilepsy or hysteria per se.

V. C. B.

B - Neuropsychiatry

IMMATUREITY AND CRIME. RALPH BANAY.
American Journal of Psychiatry. 100:
170-177, September 1943.

Several years of constant clinic contact with the inmates of Sing Sing Prison have provided the background for Dr. Banay's observations. He has attempted a synthesis of Freudian concepts, strongly interpretative psychiatry, and psychosomatic observations which throws a rather new light upon the general personality makeup of the offender. The essential viewpoint is that the offender is an individual who has failed to mature emotionally, psychosexually, socially and to a lesser extent physically. His prototype is that of the pre-adolescent child.

Paraphrasing Dr. Banay's description of the general personality makeup of these offenders, it may be said that they are light-hearted with a playful trend almost constantly present. That does not leave them free from certain anxieties, however, which may assume considerable strength even though the stimulus is relatively weak. They may work up a major anxiety around comparatively trivial things such as deprivation of visiting or writing privileges, an illness in the home, or whether they will pass the next Parole Board meeting. They

are comparatively self-centered and every act or situation is immediately translated in terms of what it means to the individual himself. He is unable to see how his actions may affect others or to have any sympathy for the privation of others unless he himself can make an identification with them. If he feels that deprivation of others is allied in any way to his own sufferings, he may become extremely generous and magnanimous. Many instances are on record where offenders have freely risked their lives in an heroic effort to save the life of someone else. Quixotically enough he may at the next moment become a complete coward, fail to meet even the normal demands of responsibility upon him, and become utterly indifferent to others. It is this wide swing between heroism on the one hand and abject cowardice on the other that is so characteristic of offenders. On the whole, offenders have an almost complete inability to identify their emotions with those of their victims. Their acts on the heroic side are inclined to be quite impulsive and trigger-like in action. Dr. Banay relates that some 2,000 men over a 5 year period fainted when blood was taken for the Wassermann Tests. Quite a number of these men were machine-gunners, "trigger men" of gangs, or had been convicted of violent crimes.

The more intelligent of the group have vivid imaginations and spend a great deal of time in fantasy and daydreaming. The prison papers edited by these individuals show almost a mockish sentimentality toward incarceration. They are exceptionally fond of games, follow the sport news on the radio with an avidity seldom seen among similar types of men in the community. They write poems, produce musical scores, invent gadgets, show great capacity for practical jokes, and in other ways are noted for their creative imagination.

On the physical side, imbalance of the autonomic nervous system is shown. Dr. Banay has noted changes in respiratory and cardiac rate and rhythm, alteration of the voice during interview, presence of increased postural tone, and other evidences of maladjustment of the nervous system. Tachycardia, tremor, clenching of hands, fidgeting, biting fingernails, stuttering, lisping, etc., shown quite frequently at time of examination. There was nothing in the situation to justify this conduct. Dr. Banay is inclined to think that in the majority of cases the feeling of guilt which is the hypothesis under which psychoanalysis proceeds in these cases does not hold. He believes that the broader biological viewpoint of immaturity is the truer explanation.

His clinical investigations were limited largely to the use of the Kent-Rosanoff Word Association Tests. The series included 100 picked recidivists from which language difficulty and feeble-mindedness were excluded. There was a full range of major crimes from manslaughter to sodomy and rape. Repetition of word association was the most outstanding characteristic noted. This was not perseveration.

The article was discussed by Dr. Sheldon Glueck of Harvard and many provocative observations were made by this notable investigator. He opened his discussion with a concise statement as to the reasons why personality investigation of criminals had not been properly made in correction organizations in the past. Most prisons will have little or nothing to do with psychiatry, he states, and as a matter of fact, psychiatry itself is in danger of being discredited because it is permitted to

operate only on a much too superficial plane. The efforts of Dr. Banay in this direction, therefore, are especially to be commended. Dr. Glueck is in full accord with Dr. Banay's central hypothesis that offenders are primarily immature and conduct themselves at an immature level. He calls attention to his previous communications on this subject and the postulation of a "Maturation Quotient." This is roughly a composite of the degree to which the individual has achieved the regular norm for his age in each phase of mental activity, as well as physical adjustment. It is a measure by which the individual has achieved integration of constitutional factors into a unified personality.

Dr. Glueck's use of the term "psychosomatic dimensions" is to the reviewer's mind a little at variance with the currently accepted use of the term. The approximation of data of physical development, of psychosexual factors and of emotional maturity does not constitute a blend which could be characterized as psychosomatic. It is still an admixture in much the same sense as the placing of iron and sulphur together does not produce iron sulphide. The reviewer believes that this is an item of considerable importance because any symptom or syndrome of presenting pathological situation is not psychosomatically interpreted unless all conditions are integrated in such interpretation. The "Maturation Quotient" method of Glueck does not secure the integration which he claims. The reviewer however, would not in any sense of the term disparage the use of the "Maturation Quotient" which is a notable advance on the technique of approach to these problems.

Dr. Glueck calls attention to the fact that Lombroso was not only a noted anthropologist but was a psychiatrist of the first water in addition. He had noted many of the personality manifestations which were recorded in this study by Dr. Banay. Dr. Banay's limitation of investigation to the Kent-Rosanoff Test is not sufficient and much research along other lines is necessary. We must investigate a developmental approach embodying the standard of physical growth of general intelligence, special abilities and disabilities, the use of inhibitive power, fatigability, etc.

The prediction of behavior is another field which Dr. Glueck has investigated and has related to the "Maturation Quotient." He suggests that a similar prediction scale which he has made on the social scale could be drawn up to prognosticate "the pace of Maturation and the maximum degree of maturity to be expected of them." Experimental work should

also be done in the methods of hastening maturation process as this would be a direct therapeutic approach which hitherto has not been attempted. This would take the lines of feeding various goal-seeking stimuli to retarded individuals commensurate with their powers of adaptation.

V. C. B.

C-Clinical Psychology

PERFORMANCE OF PROBLEM CHILDREN ON THE WECHSLER-BELLEVUE INTELLIGENCE SCALES AND THE REVISED STANFORD-BINET. ARTHUR WEIDER, JOSEPH LEVI AND FRANK RISCH. *Psychiatric Quarterly*. 17:695-702. October, 1943.

This study compares the functioning of problem children on the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scales and the Revised Stanford-Binet, Form L, and inquires into the relationships between the two tests. Both tests were given to 61 while children who ranged in age from eight years, zero months to sixteen years, one month with twelve years, three months the mean age for the group. All of the subjects were studied in the Children and Adolescent Observation Ward of the Psychiatric Division of Bellevue Hospital. The children were referred to the hospital because of various behavior and personality disorders. There were 13 girls and 48 boys. The tests were given in two sessions usually on the morning and afternoon of the same day.

The authors found a coefficient of correlation of .81 plus .03 between the Stanford-Binet I. Q. and the Bellevue Full Scale I. Q., .87 plus-minus .02 between the Stanford-Binet I. Q. and the Bellevue Verbal Scale I. Q., and .56 plus-minus .06 between the Binet I. Q. and the Bellevue Performance Scale I. Q. In addition, the data indicated that the mean scores, the standard deviations and the range of scores are quite similar for all tests with the exception of the Bellevue Performance Scale. An analysis of the data leaves little doubt

that as a group, children with delinquent and asocial character traits and usually those manifesting various behavior problems, do well on tests requiring performance and manual ability as opposed to tests of a verbal nature.

On the basis of an analysis of the four highest and four lowest I. Q. scores, the authors conclude that "subjects with low I. Q.s obtain somewhat higher I. Q.s on the Bellevue than on the Binet and subjects with high I. Q.s achieve lower scores on the Bellevue than on the Binet." While this conclusion is borne out by other researchers, it is somewhat far fetched to base it on the four highest and four lowest scores of this study especially since Case M scored identically on both tests, Case K scored only one I. Q. point higher on the Bellevue and Case N rated two I. Q. points higher. The authors caution that divergencies between Binet and Bellevue Scores should not be interpreted to mean that actual difference in capacity exist, when these differences are due primarily to statistical methods employed in test construction. What is needed is a procedure whereby such scores will be equated statistically. This is accomplished by the construction of a table of provisional "equivalent scores" based upon the regression equation for the prediction of the Bellevue I. Q. score from the Binet I. Q. for this special group. This table of equivalent scores is, of course, intended by the researchers for use only with children.

The authors justify the use of the Bellevue Scales for children by pointing out that the norms of the Bellevue Scales include 670 cases of children between the ages of seven and sixteen. They consider

that, since psychologists have been using the Stanford-Binet on adults for the past two decades although few adults were used in the standardization, there is more scientific justification for the use of the Bellevue with children than for the practice of using the Binet with adults. Other reasons advanced in the paper for use of the Bellevue with delinquent and problem children are the availability of more performance material in the scale, the absence of material which takes on the setting of a school situation and the greater interest stimulated by a continuous flow of test objects provided for in the Bellevue.

The authors emphasize two limitations of their study, the fact that the number of cases is small and that the subjects form a special group. They fail to mention that the Bellevue Scale has no published standardized norms for children below chronological age ten years and that their group included children below ten years so that the reader does not understand how they calculated I. Qs for these younger subjects and how the scale can be used for children under ten without the provision of such norms. The article is nevertheless of interest to clinical psychologists and helps them evaluate their instruments.

Samuel B. Kutash,
Woodbourne N. Y.

A STUDY OF "EXPERIMENTAL NEUROSIS" IN THE RAT BY THE CONDITIONED RESPONSE TECHNIQUE. SIDNEY W. BIJOU. *Journal of Comparative Psychology*. 36, 1-21, August, 1943.

This ingeniously contrived experiment is concerned with studying the type of experimental neurosis described in higher animals by such investigators as Pavlov and Liddell. The study was designed to employ a conditioning technique, previously developed by the author, in order to evaluate the determining conditions of experimental neurosis as described by the Anderson-Liddell theory. According to that theory, experimental neurosis is a function of tension, capacity for tension and restraint. Tension is defined in terms of

a "difficult situation," which has generally meant a difficult discrimination problem. Capacity for tension has not yet been independently defined. Restraint, although defined differently by various investigators, has been measured roughly by Liddell and co-workers by degree of physical restriction. The relationships between difficult discrimination (alone and in conjunction with punishment), type of subject, and physical restriction on the one hand, and changes in behavior, both specific and general, on the other, is investigated by Dr. Bijou.

Four animals were taken from the regular stock used in the Psychological Laboratory of the State University of Iowa and four from a strain of non-emotional rats bred expressly for this experiment, who had been previously tested for non-emotionality by Hall's procedure. This procedure was used in an effort to learn if a relationship exists between capacity for tension and emotionality as defined by Hall. To a varying degree of restraint, half the animals were subjected to more physical restriction, namely having the hind legs tied, than is ordinarily used in the method. The major part of the experiment was devoted to measuring specific and general behavior changes on evidences of tension as the difficulty of the discrimination problem was increased and when punishment was added.

The complicated conditioning apparatus was especially suited to the purposes of the experiment and is minutely described in the article with diagrammatic illustrations explaining the wiring and set-up. Feeders were used for pretraining the animals prior to the conditioning procedures and for feeding at the end of each experimental session. A stabilimeter which measured spontaneous activity was employed to measure changes in general behavior that might develop during the discrimination training.

The procedure involved five steps. Preliminary training consisted of habituating the animals to the holder by means of special feeders. Each subject was confined in one of these feeders for 30 minutes a day with no food available to it between such periods. When an animal, on three successive days, began to eat within 15 seconds after being placed in the feeder

and ate most of its daily ration, habituation was considered to have been attained. Positive conditioning began on the following day with the animal being conditioned to respond with a head extension to the cross bar when the plus-one light stimulus was presented. The next day experimental extinction was instituted resulting in failure of the animal to strike the bar during a trial or an inhibitory response.

The differentiation training began with reconditioning the response to the plus-one stimulus. This was done by presenting this stimulus for as many trials as were necessary to evolve three consecutive responses with latencies of less than two seconds. When an animal did not respond within five seconds, a food pellet was delivered by the experimenter. Upon the attainment of the conditioning criterion, the minus-one stimulus was presented for as many trials as were necessary to attain three inhibitory responses. Training with the plus-one and minus-on stimuli continued until the following series of responses was attained: 3 inhibitory responses, 1 positive response with a latency of less than 2 seconds, 3 inhibitory responses and one positive response with a latency of less than 2 seconds. This pattern of responses was adopted as the criterion of differentiation at each level of difficulty. Training was then immediately begun at the next difference level (plus-two versus minus-two) and carried out in exactly the same manner. Initial training at a new level always began with the presentation of the positive stimulus.

The first series of differential training was carried through the first three levels and nine contrasts at level 4. The second series consisted of retraining over the first three levels. The third series consisted of training from the fourth level to the level at which the animal failed to attain the

criterion of differentiation, the threshold level, after 280 trials distributed over 14 experimental days. To study the effect of increasing the punishment at this limit level, electric shock for responses to the negative stimulus was used during the next 10 days of differential conditioning. Additional procedures consisted of placing each rat in the stabilimeter cage for 10 minutes at the beginning of each training session and thus getting an activity record. A weekly record of the subjects weight was maintained.

Some of the findings concerning the development and effect of increasing the difficulty of discrimination were:

1. An increase in the difficulty of the discrimination was accompanied by an increase in excitable behavior which was heightened further by the introduction of shock.
2. At the limit of differentiation there was an increase in frequency and variability of responses to the negative stimulus.
3. The introduction of increased punishment (shock) for errors at the limit of differentiation led to the development of avoidance reactions.

With regard to the effect of increased restraint, it was found that excitable behavior was more pronounced in the leg-restricted than in the leg-free animals. The findings concerning differential behavior of the type of animals indicated that excitable behavior was more pronounced in the non-emotional animals and that in terms of habit change there was no marked difference between types of animals. The behavior observed in this experiment was similar to that reported by Liddell and Pavlov, who used the conditioned response technique.

Samuel B. Kutash,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

D - Anthropology & Sociology

SLUM SEX CODE. WILLIAM F. WHYTE.
American Journal of Sociology, 49:24-31,
July 1943.

Among respectable middle class people there is a very definite set of standards of sex behavior. This study points out that

in a district usually characterized by laxness in sex behavior there is an elaborate and highly developed sex code. This analysis was made over a period of three and one half years in an Italian slum in a large eastern city. The information was obtained by the author as a participant ob-

served from discussion with a number of men in corner gangs.

Marriages are arranged by the parents of the couples. The man did not visit the home of the girl unless he was interested in marriage. Many girls avoided this seclusion by meeting men on corners, going to dances in groups of girls, returning to the limits of the community in a car with mixed company and breaking up into male or female groups and then going home, or by other devices dependent on the amount of pressure exerted by the parents. Parties in a girl's home, picnics, evenings at a bowling alley, dances, and other social activities find a definite segregation into sex type groups.

The sex life of the children begins very early. At the age of ten most of them know all the swear words and are familiar with the purpose and method of intercourse. The boy matures to manhood during which time the sex play is relatively unregulated until finally a code of sex behavior crystallizes. Relations between corner boys and women cannot be defined in uniform terms, since there is a variation of behavior dependent on the category in which the woman is placed and the man's qualifications for access to women of various categories.

A sexual classification of the unmarried women is established in the minds of the men as follows:

Sex experience:

1. "Good" girls
2. "Lays"
 - a. One-man girls
 - b. Promiscuous
 - b. Prostitutes

Physical attractiveness:

Beautiful to ugly.

Social and ethnic group position:

Superior groups
Italian non-Slum
Italian slum

Virginity is prized and protected. One of the men stated three months in jail would be small price for the privilege of being in bed with a certain virgin. Another elaborated that it would even be worth a week in jail even if she were a "lay." The difference between three months and a week illustrates the valuations placed on "good girls" and "lays." The code strongly prohibits intercourse with a virgin. It is felt that only the lowest type of man

would do this. The virginity of a "teaser," however, is thought to be only a technicality, and if she is raped it serves her right. A man who violates a virgin and pregnancy results marries the girl either voluntarily or through persuasion by the priest and her family. If the ban on intercourse with virgins was never violated, the only non-virgins would be girls who had sex relations with men outside of the district. This is obviously not true. Early adolescent boys and girls introduce each other to sexual activity. A man in the area cannot admit having intercourse with a virgin of the area without incurring the scorn of his fellows.

The men believe that their health requires sexual intercourse at certain intervals. "Good girls" are not in the picture because of possible commitments and responsibilities which a given man may not wish to assume. "Lays" are resorted to because freedom increases and responsibility decreases. The ideal girl is the one-man girl in the "lay" class. Even then the possibility of attachment becomes cumbersome and the man usually drops her after four or five months. Peculiarly blondes of non-Italian stock are preferred. The promiscuous girl is less desirable socially but there is less risk than with the "one-man lay." Only pregnancy can impose a responsibility and even then paternity is difficult to establish. The professional prostitute is least desirable. The men prefer a "line-up" rather than a house of prostitution. In the "line-up" one of the men obtains a "hustler" and takes her to a room in the area and allows his friends to have intercourse with her, each man paying the girl for the privilege.

The social ties between the man and the woman also establish sexual taboos. For example a brother-in-law's cousin or relatives of a friend are taboo. The standards for marital and non-marital relationships, too, are different. For the former, a "good girl" of Italian stock is desired as she knows the man's ways, can cook for him, etc. In the later, the blonde type of American stock is preferred. Even in marriage, the man's sexual relationship with other women will continue while his wife is expected to be faithful "as it's her upbringing."

Chester D. Owens,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

URBAN LOWER CLASS NEGRO GIRLS. MARGARET BRENNAN. *Psychiatry*. 6:307-324, August, 1943.

The field work for this study was made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation as a part of a broader investigation of "The Negro in America." The purpose of this study is to report generally the results of a field study of a few lower-class negro girls and wherever possible compare these observations with those of a previously studied middle-class group of Negro girls. (The Relationship between Minority-Group Membership and Group Identification in a Group of Urban Middle Class Negro Girls. *J. Social. Psychol.* 2: 171-197). Two problems are presented, the reactions of these girls to minority group membership, and the sexual behavior and standards of morality in this group. The author acted as both participant observer and interviewer in amassing the data.

All of the girls are northern, urban, within a five to fifteen dollar a week income range, within 20 to 25 years of age, most are Baptists, and none is of college level. Economic status as the sole index of social status can not be used in studying the problem of class differences among negro people. A lower class girl may belong to one of two sections, that which accepts middle class ideology as its frame of reference or that which rejects middle class standards and constitutes the underworld. Two questions have proven helpful in clarifying this fundamental difference, does the subject derive her income from fulfilling a role in the socially approved productive system of majority society (domestic work or factory work) or does she derive her income from a subsystem, relatively independent or sometimes in conflict with, the majority productive system—prostitution, robbery, narcotic peddling, gambling, procuring, and "living off" another person.

The middle class Negro girls seem to show much insecurity relevant to their minority group membership. They drift from job to job and are offered more remunerative opportunities in the underworld. Inferiority is accepted by them. The lower class has definite convictions that the Negro can not be accepted as a

governing body. Violence is a common method of settling disputes. As a class many would like to have different features, non-kinky hair, small mouth, be a "cool brown," have perfect teeth, etc. Traits of negroes enumerated by lower class subjects include: rhythmic, happy-go-lucky, suspicion, dishonest, overly-talkative, sexually over-excitabile, and emotional.

The difference in sexual standards and behavior between the middle and lower-class girls is one of the most clear cut of the observations and is probably the most reliable single criterion in establishing class membership. There is a close correspondence between the White and Negro middle-class standards, according to which the ideal pattern for a girl to assume is no sexual relations before marriage and strict monogamy thereafter. There are variants subjects to the proximity of the date of marriage, but few will admit this. The data on the lower-class Negro girls reveals a rejection of this ideal standard in behavior. Five cases are presented in detailed discussion on this point.

Chester D. Owens,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

ANTAGONISTIC ACCULTURATION. G. DEVEREUX AND E. M. LOEB. *American Sociological Review*. 8:133, 1943.

As the porcupine develops quills and the lesser insects stings to prevent premature absorption by a foreign host, so do the various societies amid the world antagonisms of today. For modern societies, like individuals, guard themselves against contamination and influence, pressure and novelty. They evolve mores at variance with the life techniques of their fellows, purposely to retain their individuality. Each group is at the mercy of diffusion of fresh ideas and the influence of alien cultures, each with its own symbols and contributions. Society advances by borrowing and accepting what it can absorb, (accretion), or shielding itself from what it cannot stomach; proceeding on the principle of parsimony and always consulting its own safety. The very title, Antagonistic, implies the evolution of certain mores to block assimilation by an alien culture

and to prevent mental miscegenation, as is attempted in the biological realm. What is typical of primitive tribes derives ultimately from the defence mechanisms of the individual, and the general pattern is one of conservative resistance.

Such resistance is designed to stop identification with the outsider (a rejection of affiliation desire), or to reinforce resistance to incorporation with an in-group (rejection of adoption desire). This phenomenon of oppositon to the general give and take of a culture finds complex expression. On the borrowing side, resistance will be to the lender nation or to the certain items it can contribute, similarly on the lending side; cogent reasons can always be found to justify this obstructionism. Protective barriers have to be set up. Such resistances may extend beyond the immediate group to the outsider, for automatic assigning of (bad) attributes is part of the general process of projection. Adoption of the other group's means and vehicles (in Sorokin's sense) is permitted without adoption of its goals; there may be diffusion of such goals but the persistence of certain ideas (often vestigial) occurs in the process. No group can take over all three stages. Each social "trait" then becomes articulated with the general fabric of the culture, provided its adoption is not too sudden, the challenge to vested interests too great, or the jolt to readjustment too critical. By contrast, society may prefer to remain overtly unique (peculiar). Man's love of ethnic distinctiveness and cultural autonomy is equally true of the group. Each resists incorporation.

There is next discussed the causal nexus sociologically between means and ends (i. e. the originally intended ultimate goal). to be understood ethically and not mechanistically. Standing in the way of ready absorption are always the forces of prejudice, chauvinism and affiliation resistance, or downright repudiation of an alien culture, though we do copy what we pay for dearly. This societal process is "often an automatic and more or less unconscious process," if society can be said to have a soul.

Certain basic mechanisms of mind, applicable to the individual are found all along manifesting, operative in (and pre-

sumably tenable for) Society, which uses the various familiar stratagems and counter measures, e. g. Defence by Assimilation; assimilating the vehicle for new ends; Isolation from contacts, from certain symbols and the use of suppression; Projection of repressed elements (imputing out some unassimilable content); Regression to less highly differentiated levels; Introjection of own group feelings; Dissociation from proclaimed ends; violating own codes, ostracizing and trait differentiation; Contrary Action (negativism) as in the title.

Repression is the suppression of culture items and we use boycott, blockade, barriers, and bars generally. The thesis is illustrated at each stage with vivid examples from ancient and modern times, covering all climes and instances, along with 57 annotations.

P. L. Goitein,

Woodbourne, N. Y.

THE CHANNELING OF NEGRO AGGRESSION BY THE CULTURAL PROCESS. HORTENSE POWDERMAKER. *The American Journal of Sociology*. 48:750-758, May, 1943.

The negro's resentment caused by the deprivation imposed on him by our society may be channeled in different ways, the particular form depending largely on cultural factors. Powdermaker has listed in this article many of the discriminations and resentments borne by the negro, and how the colored man has subjected the natural aggressive tendencies which are bound to appear as the result of such a situation by for the most part indulging in phantasy life and withdrawal instead of overt behavior.

Beginning with the period before the Civil War when the colored people were enslaved, the author traces the negro's development along these lines up to the present time. It is generally accepted that the majority of slaves emotionally accepted their role as servants and that rebellions were few and far between due to the extreme punishment in store for such aggression. However, it is pointed out, despite such penalties, aggressive feelings toward the white people did take concrete shape

in many certain instances. In *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro* can be found practically every conceivable crime including murder, rape, arson, theft, and others. Also, the fact that many slaves ran away clearly indicates their dissatisfaction with their status.

The majority of slaves were nevertheless, loyal to the system and their masters. In explaining this loyalty, the author points out that slavery is a dependency situation, and that the relationship between master and slave was not unlike that of parent and child, although obviously there are certain limitations. There is a greater degree of bondage, and there is a much less degree of love between the two relationships. Likewise, the slave's dependency is imposed on him by culture, and the child's by helplessness. Functionally, to attain security both must repress, either consciously or unconsciously, their hatred for the object which restricts their desires and freedom. It is impossible at this late date, however, to determine to what degree this aggression took place among slaves in phantasy or minor overt acts.

It is to be recognized that emancipation did not solve the slave's problem of psychological dependency. Even unto this day, the negro was and is dependent upon the whites for employment, favors, and money, and in addition was denied rights of suffrage, legal rights, etc. The question thus arises, did the negro accept his position or was aggression aroused, and if so how did culture channel it. There have been few instances of the negro's attempt at direct aggression toward its true object. The two most common methods of dealing with the situation by the negro are the substitution of a colored object for the white which is revealed by the constant bickering among the negro element, and the identification of the negro with his white employer. Numerous instances are cited where the negro has directed his innate hostility by assuming the characteristics of his aggressor and has even, through his own efforts, assisted his aggressor in continuing his aggression. For example, the slave who worked the plantation while his master was fighting on the battlefronts of the Civil War. A third method that has been employed

and is probably used most widely by the present day negro is a definite phantasy life embodying the precepts of religion. Feelings of resentment and hate that are brought about by the restrictions employed against the race are diffused with the thought that such feelings are foreign to their religious teachings and tendencies and that in his conception of Heaven such inequalities will be righted and the negro will be supreme and the white inferiors. Thus, the general conception that the greater the suffering on earth the greater the reward in the life after death. This is a very definite and concrete method by which the negro's natural aggression has been channeled by culture.

The article indicates that the phantasy of turning tables on the oppressor by the negro is not always confined to the other world, but may take the form of two individuals or a group explaining to each other privately what they did or told their aggressor or oppressor. Likewise, feelings of superiority taking the form of religious zeal may in part take up the shock of the negro's aggressive tendencies. He, the negro, is virtuous, while the white oppresses and exploits. This feeling of superiority may also take the characteristic of deception whereby the negro assumes a certain status while he in his own mind appears to himself exactly the opposite.

In conclusion, present day trends are discussed. The gradual migration of negroes from rural to urban centers, and the disappearance of the illiteracy of the past, is making the aforementioned solution of the negro's aggression far more difficult. Economic insecurity suffered by white as well as colored individuals no longer makes possible the emphasis on dependency. A general decline at present in religious zeal reduces the former emphasis placed on reward in Heaven. It can be expected, with the increase of the negro's intellectual development, occupational competition with whites, and the free mingling of the two races on an equal basis, that a trend toward greater overt aggression by the negro may be expected.

William G. Rose,

Woodbourne, N. Y.

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF AFFECTIONAL FRUSTRATION. ISIDOR THORNER. *Psychiatry*. 6:157-173, May, 1943.

An analysis of one family may produce an explanation which may produce a principal which may be applied to larger scale groups. The family studied in this paper is from the middle class. This family comprised Mrs. Jones and, in order of age, John, Jane, James, and Joan. Mr. Jones had been an exceedingly hard worker, uncommunicative, and one given to staying at home. Mrs. Jones, the dominant personality, accepted her situation and the thwarted effections of a grinding childhood combined to focus all her attention upon the children. Neither of the parents expressed affection for each other or their children by unbending in play or in an easy flow of endearments. The children rarely saw their parents kiss. Mrs. Jones and the oldest child confess embarrassment and distaste when they see others do so in their presence. The three older children were trained to professional careers although Joan failed to complete high school. Their achievements and manners were such as to draw expressions of admiration and often Mrs. Jones was asked for advice on the rearing of children. However, the subsurface relations within the family were not altogether satisfactory. Mrs. Jones showed hurt resentment of Joan's unnatural hardness and lack of affection while Joan cited the absence of affection. In addition, her (Joan's) temper tantrums might be interpreted as unconscious bids for and expressions of frustrated affection. Quarrels over property rights were frequent—explosive outbursts far beyond the intrinsic importance of the incidents were evidenced. The almost complete absence of spontaneous affection manifested in the shape of trifling gifts to the parents or for the home also disturbed Mrs. Jones.

Certain aspects of Jane's behavior are of interest as showing some of the forms which frustrated affection may assume. She became interested in "left wing" movements, became unkempt in personal appearance, and her political activities ceased

when she became engaged to a man interested in her political beliefs. The mother was never her confidante, nor was the mother the confidante of any of her other children. Neither parents had informed any of the children in the matters of sex.

Two other elements in the behavior pattern of this representative family seem to be of significance for their relationship to the frustration of affection, invitations by the children to their friends to visit the family gradually reduced to non-existence, and, the rivalry among the siblings was intensified. The outstanding characteristic of the family is the comparative failure of affectional response. When affectional response was experienced changes in personality could be noted by friends and relatives.

The basic assumption is that affective insecurity can lead to tensions and aggressive feelings which, especially in childhood, must be repressed in view of the dependency relations. The sublimated and compensatory forms which the frustration may assume are infinitely diverse but they all represent surrogates, substitutes on other levels, for affectional security. Numerous traits result from affectional frustration, however a caveat is interposed—there is no intention of implying that these traits arise from only affectional frustration.

Sections of this article entitled "Elements in the Genesis of a Basic Personality Structure" and "Developmental Changes in a Basic Personality Structure" lead the author to conclude that personality type which arises from affectional frustration gives us an indication of current trends and tensions in American social structure. Even though affectional frustration may produce certain types, the author feels that though affectional frustration were reduced to a minimum in all American families, the valued characteristics of the type are "too deeply imbedded in and useful for the continuity of society to have outlived their time."

Chester D. Owens,

Woodbourne, N. Y.

E - Social & Statistics

SYMPOSIUM ON PROSTITUTION.

- I. The Role of the United States Public Health Service in Venereal Disease Control: Thomas Parran, M. D., *Federal Probation*, 56, April-June, 1943.
- II. The Suppression of Prostitution in Relation to Venereal Disease Control in the Army: Lt. Col. Thomas B. Turner, M. C. Ibid.
- III. The Sociologist Looks at Prostitution: Walter C. Reckless, Ph. D. Ibid.
- IV. The Federal Government's Program in Attacking the Problem of Prostitution: Eliot Ness. Ibid.
- V. The Role of the Police Woman's Bureau in Combating Prostitution: Capt. Rhoda Milliken. Ibid.
- VI. Social Treatment of Prostitutes and Promiscuous Women: Raymond Clapp. Ibid.
- VII. Study and Treatment of Persons Charged with Prostitution: Miriam VanWaters, Ph. D. Ibid.
- VIII. Survey of 100 May Act Violators Committed to the Federal Reformatory for Women: Helen Hironimus. Ibid.
- IX. The Prostitute Before the Court: Judge Wilbur C. Curtis. Ibid.
- X. The Community's Part in the Battle Against Prostitution: Walter Clarke, M. D., Ibid.

Thomas Parran explains that the United States Public Health Service, in combating venereal disease, uses an extremely simple formula—find venereal disease and treat venereal disease. Thus the long chain that causes neverending infections is broken. With the advent of new techniques of treatment it is not unlikely that the complete conquest of syphilis and gonorrhea will occur within our lifetime.

Because of the social stigma attached to both of these diseases, concealment has prevented actual data regarding the incidence of venereal disease from being known so that a systematic tracking down of the sources of infection could take place. However, it is known that between birth and death one out of every ten persons would be attacked by the spirocheta pallida. It is also known that incidence is higher among negroes than whites, higher in the south than other sections, and higher among white men than white women.

In 1940 the total reported syphilis exceeded the combined total of malaria, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, smallpox, typhus, pneumonia, meningitis, diphtheria, and infantile paralysis.

The author stresses the fact that both syphilis and gonorrhea are extremely dangerous diseases which if untreated will kill or maim a large proportion of those who become infected. Many of those individuals who end in public asylums for the insane or blind are the result of the ravages of these diseases. One million years of life expectancy is lost yearly by the American population each year because of syphilis.

That we are progressing in venereal disease control is a truism. In 1938 by an act of Congress, Federal funds of \$3,000,000 were made available for public health control and that sum has steadily risen until in 1943 it is estimated that combined State Federal and local contributions may bring the total to \$20,000,000. In 1938 there were 1,122 venereal disease clinics, while today there are 3,500. The cases of syphilis subject to treatment in 1938 was 229,000 monthly, while today the figure is 400,000 monthly. The same is true in respect to gonorrhea, the number of cases treated rising from 3,500,000 in 1938 to 13,800,000 in 1942. These results have been achieved largely by a recognition by Federal, State and Municipal government that protective services must be instituted and strong defenses built against the inroads of the so-called social disease, against people living in a war economy with all of its socioeconomic problems.

In order to continue this unrelenting battle, health departments must be expanded, adequate funds provided, and a definite cooperation between police and medical services to ferret out new cases of infection and provide treatment for the known cases.

Lieutenant Colonel Turner in his article states that the Army has recognized that there is a sharp rise in the incidence of venereal disease among military personnel during war times, and because of this has engaged on a three-point program toward the elimination of this social menace.

First, the Army enlisted the best physicians in civilian venereal control

work and who were used as an embryo organization which was expanded under their leadership. These physicians applied the principles of epidemiology to the problems of venereal disease control, determined the circumstances under which soldiers were being infected and the organizations which have the highest rates of infection.

Secondly, there was a high degree of collaboration between civil and military authorities since it was known that sources of infection are in persons beyond the jurisdiction of the Army.

Thirdly, many houses of prostitution have been closed so that the red light district close to camps is an exception rather than the rule.

The War Department recognizes that prostitution cannot be completely eradicated, but measures can be adopted which will reduce its prevalence. It has been proven detrimental to the health, welfare and efficiency of the Army, and this organization therefore has a direct interest in the success of the program of repression. The control program centers around the individual soldier, who is urged to report to a medical officer as soon as signs of venereal disease are noted. The infected individual is regarded as sick and is treated as such and not as a criminal. The objective in such treatment is to prevent concealment. Information is then collected concerning civilians who serve as sources of infection, and this information is transmitted to local and State health departments so the infected individuals may be quarantined and treated.

As before stated, civilian cooperation is essential, and the same principles of venereal disease control among civilians is as necessary as in the Army. Effective measures which operate without injustice or undue embarrassment to the individual uncover many sources of infection.

The author recognizes that all promiscuous girls cannot be considered prostitutes. There is a tremendous difference between a girl who operated alone and an organized syndicate. The syndicate method of prostitution makes possible the infection of large numbers of individuals during a short period of time because of the elaborate organization behind the individual girl. In many cases the higher-

ups are never brought to trial in case of a raid since it is not pleasant to receive the full impact of the law while the person responsible for her predicament escapes responsibility. In the last analysis, public opinion behind a reasonable and practical approach to this problem is necessary for its solution.

Walter C. Reckless feels there is no answer as to why some girls are prostitutes and others with practically the same traits and background do not become prostitutes. It is tentatively suggested that previous sex experience, together with low financial resources constitute the real background of a girl's entering the trade. It is not so much of a temptation which ensnares morally collapsed girls but it is a job opportunity and a scheme of life for those of low resources.

Contrary to public belief, most girls are introduced into prostitution by their own female acquaintances and by women who are already engaged in this practice.

Prostitutes ordinarily do not consider themselves criminal and consider the risks of arrest and infection part of the social and physical risks of the trade. They expect a certain amount of beating, bad luck and infection.

During the present emergency, girls are making high wages in defense work and at the same time indulge in prostitution during their non-working hours. Others venture into crime such as picking pockets and shoplifting, to supplement their incomes, while still others become boozers, drug addicts, etc. The author feels, however, that the typical prostitute merely engages in her one calling.

Treatment resources available to prostitutes reveal rather a dismal picture. Fines, and suspended sentences are the usual punishments meted out. There has been no practical method of followup or rehabilitation to date. Few trained workers have had competent experience with girls in prostitution. However, rehabilitation is recognized as part of the total social protection program. Girls themselves have not voluntarily initiated assistance in restoring them to useful community life. This is probably due to their ignorance regarding welfare agencies. They do not understand the workers or the agencies. It is Doctor Reckless' belief that once re-

habilitation work is established on a workable and effective basis the girls themselves will pass the word to each other regarding the services available and thus will be achieved the confidence which is so necessary before any lasting effects of this problem are to be felt.

Eliot Ness explains that in 1941 the Social Protection Section of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services was established by the Federal Government as its contribution toward the suppression of prostitution. The objectives were designed to control the incidence of venereal disease in military and industrial life. Also, in 1941 the May Act was passed by Congress. Under its terms, prostitution becomes a Federal offense in areas within a reasonable distance of Army or Navy establishments when it is believed this step is necessary to protect the health of the uniformed personnel.

It has been the policy of the Government to recognize repression as a moral responsibility, to be enforced as far as possible by the community itself. Under the office of Defense Health and Welfare Service, twelve regional supervisors were appointed, and twenty-five field representatives, their sole duty being to explain and clarify the federal objectives in relation to local situations and to coordinate the work of national agencies with that of civic and police officials. In June, 1942, outstanding police officials in the country were invited to serve on a National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection. The committee suggested techniques for attacking the unorganized channels of prostitution. A report of this committee was sent to sheriffs and police chiefs in all parts of the country.

In sections where lack of detention facilities have caused serious problems, federal funds have been made available for operation of detention hospitals to relieve the situation.

Progress has been made by the Federal Government in attacking the prostitution problem, but much remains to be done. Statutes need to be strengthened, law enforcement methods must be organized, and adequate programs for prevention and redirection must be established. Political pressure from organized vice

rings must not be allowed to nullify the work of law enforcement.

Captain Rhoda Milliken calls attention to the fact that in many small areas where there has been great pressure to stamp out venereal disease, there have been the poorest facilities and personnel to do the job. In addition, the detention facilities available for precourt care have been so poor as to cause officials to hesitate to use them, and institutional services for those needing long periods of treatment have not been geared to either medical or social services necessary for the rehabilitation of the individual concerned.

A policewomen's service may be part of the solution. These services are three-fold:

1. Patrol of selected areas and supervision of commercial recreation.
2. Special investigation of complaints.
3. A clearance service which would include interview and investigation from both social and legal angles, medical examinations, and referral service for women coming to the attention of or detained by the police of a community.

This would prevent undesirable contact in places of recreation, and prevent exploitation of girls and women employed in questionable dance halls and night clubs. The policewoman may provide information and guidance for young people which will direct them into wholesome fields of recreation and employment and also give them information regarding the use of the services of appropriate agencies for this work.

When investigating neighborhood conditions or complaints against individuals, careful police work may wipe out a condition which has been leading girls into prostitution and at the same time bring about legal prosecution of persons responsible for such conditions. By having an adequate method of clearance of all cases, commercial operations of syndicates may be detected and successfully prosecuted.

The last and most important service that may be rendered is a selected process whereby the juvenile and more hopeful cases can be segregated from the total group and given special services afforded by community agencies which would preclude the necessity for legal action, the net result being constructive rehabilitation

for the individuals concerned.

Raymond Clapp holds that the most important action in the suppression of prostitutes is the shifting of the prostitute from her previous activity to legitimate employment. Employers should not refuse to hire a woman merely because she has a record of prostitution of venereal infection. Refusal quite often forces her to return to her old profession. Employment services should attempt to find suitable jobs for women having a record of prostitution or sexual promiscuousness. Industries and agencies operating job training projects should accept them for training or set up special projects for their training.

Girls who might become engaged in prostitution should be protected by legislation. Such legislation should safeguard them against certain types of employment such as "drink hustling," hostesses, or in any capacity which would encourage promiscuousness. Adequate policing of streets and parks, and the regulation of public places of amusement have been recommended as a positive approach to the problem of social treatment.

Social protection of young women must include proper housing facilities, adequate opportunity for wholesome recreation and sufficient income to meet the cost of living. It is recognized that if girls were earning enough money, if they have a decent place to live and sufficient entertainment possibilities, the number who will find their way into prostitution is considerably reduced.

Social treatment for known prostitutes must be based upon individual needs. Analysis must be made of the resources necessary for rehabilitation, and trained personnel recruited who will have understanding of the problems involved and the temperament, education and training which will enable them to present this program favorably.

It naturally follows that the aid of agencies and individuals is necessary to bring about a successful adjustment to the girl who needs help and is willing to accept it. This aid will include medical treatment, employment personality studies, institutional care and treatment if necessary, and post-release guidance.

The community itself will of necessity have to adopt a plan of action by which

the aforementioned services can be most suitably rendered. For the most part, agencies already set up within the community may with little effort expand their services to include this new function. It will require a mutual understanding and acceptance of their respective responsibilities by the cooperating agencies. Thus the Welfare Department can work in close cooperation with the Police Department, the Police Department in its turn would cooperate with the court, and so on. Since all agencies are working toward one objective, the successful rehabilitation of the offender, the overlapping of services need not be considered another problem.

Miriam Van Waters recognizes that prostitution is far reaching from the woman involved. Commercialized prostitution is big business. Lack of uniform laws for suppression of these activities make enforcement of existing laws difficult for law enforcement officers. Attention is called to the fact that prostitution is a community problem, and extreme care must be used in dealing with the offender. Since actual studies show that 50% of sex arrests are of non-commercial origin, the method of treating the offender will to a large extent determine whether or not a professional career of sex delinquency is to be avoided.

Judges in these cases must be provided with case histories, giving the background of each case, supplemented by reports of the psychiatrist and physician. Unfortunately, considerable time must be spent in the compiling of these reports, and during the intervening time the subject is in a place of detention. Adequate classification of the offender awaiting trial is necessary.

It is generally accepted that probation furnishes the most hopeful treatment for known prostitutes who have come into conflict with the law. They represent a cross section of the normal population, and no one type emerges. Treatment must be as broad and varied as the needs of the person presented. Again attention is brought to the fact that medical work must go hand-in-hand with psychology and mental health. Family life, or its substitute in social groups, must be built up. Leisure-time interests must be stimulated, and training and participation in community life provided. The attitude to-

ward these individuals should be militant and hopeful. There is no reason to believe that the same number of successful adjustments cannot be expected from victims of prostitution than any other offense against the community.

Helen Hironimus, in her very enlightening article reveals that out of 100 cases studied, with only six exceptions, the individuals came from sub-marginal industrial and agricultural areas, and under ordinary circumstances most of them would have spent their lives in poverty and obscurity. Few are of the sophisticated, urban type, and nearly all were reared in rural areas or small towns. Out of the 100 cases studied, only four came from good homes.

Their work histories were extremely limited, and for the most part unverified. Domestic difficulties in these cases were prevalent since of the 53 women who were married, 31 were separated or divorced, and a total of 31 illegitimate children were listed. 64 of the offenders had been previously arrested, although these arrests were for minor law violations. Though sexual promiscuity in many instances dated to adolescence, there is little evidence of a long period of professional prostitution, and a large number could not be considered as prostitutes in the legal sense of the word since their activities would probably have escaped the attention of law enforcement agents had their companions not been soldiers. Fifty-six of the group indicate excessive drinking, while only 9 claimed abstinence from the use of alcohol. Only 24 operated in houses, the remainder being members of small groups who lived together but solicited independently of each other, resorting to chance acquaintances and pickups.

The relatively short period of confinement limits the development of treatment programs in the Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, West Virginia, of which the author is warden. They are not eligible for parole or conditional release and thus do not have the opportunity for constructive followup or supervision upon their return to the community. Their physical needs included anti-luetic treatment for 40, and treatment for gonorrhea for 4. Generally speaking, all were undernourished, and only 24 of the 100 offenders had received dental attention.

The author states that during their quarantine period marked changes in attitude were in evidence because of the greatly increased knowledge of personal hygiene. This brought about a more youthful appearance and personal self assurance. Unfortunately on release these individuals will face almost insurmountable difficulties. Although they have benefitted to some extent by the opportunities offered them through institutionalization, they must leave the institution to face their personal problems alone and without supervision.

Judge Wilbur C. Curtis takes a very realistic attitude regarding the problem of prostitution, inasmuch as he recognizes that the object of law is primarily preventive rather than curative. Thus, in the handling of prostitution cases at the present time, the welfare and safety of the nation are paramount to the interests of the individual. In the handling of over 24,000 prostitution cases, Judge Curtis is of the opinion that such cases afford less opportunity for the proper use of probation than any other type of case. This opinion is based upon statistics which reveal that during the last ten years less than 1.5% of such cases were referred to probation departments for investigation and supervision compared with as high as 50% in other types of misdemeanors. He feels that probation will seldom change the mental processes of a woman who has acquired the thinking processes of a prostitute.

In the City of Los Angeles where Judge Curtis presides, the authorities are more interested in combating venereal disease than in the reduction of prostitution. An offender's sentence was terminated upon medical attention having rendered her non-infectious. With the advent of the war and intervention by the Federal Government in the form of the Federal Security Agency, the reduction of prostitution became a reality and maximum term sentences were imposed upon the convicted prostitutes. A complete revision of previous judicial policies came about. The prostitute was incarcerated as a disease carrier and maximum terms imposed as a war measure. Since the number of arrests in Los Angeles decreased 39% in 1942 over 1941, it seems reasonable to believe that the deterring effect of this greater punish-

ment has played an important part in the reduction of prostitution.

Doctor Walter Clarke speaks of the future, and questions whether or not prostitution will again flourish after the war, and points out that during the war years in 1917 and 1918, almost every red light district in the country was closed but with the conclusion of peace, conditions again prevailed as before. It is well known that the profit motive keeps prostitution going and that, in short, prostitution is a business which like certain other illegitimate enterprises is promoted solely for gain.

When the facts concerning prostitution are known to the community and the general public becomes aroused, prostitution usually has to go. However, public indifference or defeatism quite often loses the gains that have been made, and corrupt law enforcement agents override far-sighted officials who keep a vigilant watch over conditions.

Although inadequate laws handicap law enforcement agencies, the existence of good laws does not necessarily insure greater enforcement. Public support is necessary for successful law enforcement. Citizens must be convinced that it is desirable at all times, both in peace as well as in war to reduce prostitution to a minimum and keep it there. They must be convinced that it does not help protect the safety of virtuous women and girls, which is one of the most fallacious arguments in its favor. The community's part in this battle against prostitution rest primarily in the cultivation and organization of public support for policies and procedures which are as valuable in time of peace as in war, and it must be made certain that the gains accrued from the war effort are held and improved after the war and that a general reaction does not set in.

W. G. Rose,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

THE PROBLEM OF THE MALE DEFECTIVE DELINQUENT IN THE STATE SCHOOL. ARTHUR W. PENSE, M. D., *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*. 47:467-472, April, 1943.

It is an accepted fact that the defective delinquent appears from time to time

in State Schools which are maintained solely for the purpose of training the ordinary defective. Doctor Pense, who is affiliated with the Wassaic State School, Wassaic, New York, reports on a statistical study made on one hundred non-selected cases which were discharged from the Wassaic State School and at a later date were sentenced to penal institutions. For purposes of comparison an equal number of individuals admitted during the same period of time were checked to determine if the delinquent group was particularly outstanding in either their prior history or institutional adjustment. Although males were studied it was recognized that defective delinquent females also present similar problems.

In studying the two groups, it was observed that 48 of the delinquent cases had been confined for a period less than one year in comparison with 22 of the other group. Other figures showed that a total of 42 of the delinquents escaped, 45 were discharged against advice, and that out of the entire 100 only 13 were paroled with the expectation that they would adjust. By contrast, the comparison group listed 11 escapes, 22 discharges against advice, and 36 paroled. Likewise, the delinquent group showed that a total of 71 per cent remained in the school less than 2 years, whereas 74 per cent of the comparison group remained longer than a two-year period. Analyzing their behavior while in the institution, it was shown that of the delinquent group only 27 were classified as good, 28 as fair, and 45 as poor. The comparison group showed 45 as good, and 20 in the "poor" classification. Thus it is shown that the delinquent group as a whole showed a greater concentration in the poorly behaved category. These statistics to some extent describe the problems that the delinquent boys present.

The ordinary State School for defectives is lacking in the necessary physical equipment to deal with serious discipline problems. Inasmuch as the defective delinquent does not adequately adjust to the State School program which is geared for non-delinquent defectives, it is suggested that arrangements should be made so that these institutional problems may be transferred to another institution which can cope with behavior problems. If al-

lowed to mingle freely with the delinquents, the non-delinquents often assume by association many of the traits of the delinquent.

In order to ascertain the facilities for the treatment of such problems by the various states, questionnaires were sent out to the authorities in each of the forty-eight states. Thirty-nine replies were received, and from the information contained in these replies it was ascertained that these problems were very real and serious for most institutions. Only three states operate institutions for defective delinquents, and of these three, two have a possibility of effecting a simple transfer system whereby the delinquent may be placed in a suitable institution. Commenting on the lack of institutions for defective delinquents, the author states that the primary reason

is the fact that the defective delinquent is usually city bred and only in states where there are large urban populations is an institution of this type necessary.

Summarizing the article, the author recommends that a procedure be established whereby the delinquent defectives that are found from time to time in the population of purely defective institutions be transferred to an institution which may suitably care for them. The situation at present is demoralizing to the State Schools, and the present war emergency has made it practically impossible for the State School to employ the type of person capable of managing these delinquents in the absence of proper facilities.

William G. Rose,

Woodbourne, N. Y.

F - Medico Legal

SCIENTIFIC PROOF AND THE RELATIONS OF LAW AND MEDICINE. HUBERT W. SMITH. *Boston University Law Review*. 23:143-182, April 1943.

The rapidly developing and highly complex relationship of medicine to law is treated by the author in a clear-cut and comprehensive manner under the categories of clinical forensic medicine, forensic pathology, scientific crime detection and the modes and mechanisms of scientific proof.

Forensic medicine dealing with the problems of expert testimony has been under considerable discussion for many years due to the feeling of both the legal and medical professions that a common meeting-ground of the two professions has not yet been obtained. The doctor who is called upon to give expert testimony in court feels that he is not given the opportunity to explain his position adequately and that frequently he is misunderstood even to the point of being abused because of this failure to modify and explain his position. The incisive procedures relating to testimony are utterly at variance with his method of doing things. The court and counsel on the other hand are inclined to feel many times that the psychiatrist is

not sure of his position, that he cannot give his testimony in a clear and understandable way and that he is often muddled in his thinking. The jury and even the public at large tend toward the opinion that the medical expert can dress his testimony to suit the requirements of the highest bidder. All of these viewpoints, of course, are fallacious to some extent but have an element of truth.

The author endeavors to analyze the situation and to offer a program of correction for defects arising from same. He calls attention to the fact that lay juries are required to pass upon technical matters for which they are utterly unqualified. Even the appointment of an expert consultant by the court does not meet the situation. The doctor on the other hand in being cross-questioned is put in the position of engaging in a battle of wits with the counsel and is tempted to resort to legalistic methods of thinking. His inability to qualify answers on the witness stand works a considerable hardship in the matter of professional interpretation of the data at hand. Legal medicine often calls for a type of knowledge and opinion that is new to the doctor's way of thinking. If he is naive he may be easily trapped and may appear in a rather ridiculous posi-

tion which his own knowledge of medicine does not justify. The counsel on the other hand with his smattering of medical knowledge obtained for the most part by the hasty reading of such textbooks as he may have access to the night or two before the trial utterly lacks the perspective of the proper questioning of an expert medical witness for the purpose of bringing out the truly essential points. It has been the experience of every medical expert that the kernel of truth of the exact medical situation of the case may be utterly lost in the maneuvering for position in court procedures.

The author proposes that this situation can be met by the appointment of expert referees by the court from authorized lists in which the qualifications of the expert are beyond doubt. In this way the present system of permitting doctors who are not qualified to testify on highly specialized medical subjects can be eliminated and the opposition of the public to the effect that expert witnesses can be retained for either side at will, will be obviated through the court selecting impartial experts. Such referees would have the power of acting as an "auditing" committee whereby all medical data referring to the case could be properly considered, digested, and put before the court in a detailed scientific report. In this way the opinions of the medical men can be conserved and no limitations can be forced upon him as by the present method of eliciting evidence through cross-examination. Such a committee could act as an advisory body not only to the jury but to the judge and counsel themselves. Members of the committee composed of medical referees appointed by the court would be subject to cross-examination in court limited to the material contained within the official reports submitted by their group. This method would not preclude the calling in by counsel of other expert witnesses as they may deem advisable to sustain their own contentions.

Some space was devoted to the so-called McNaughton Formula which was the result of an opinion handed down in 1834 by Chief Justice Tindall and his associates on the question of responsibility in judgments of insanity. The formula in essence states that a person should be con-

sidered irresponsible for his acts if it can be shown that at the time the act was committed, he did not know the difference between right and wrong nor the nature and quality of his act. The author of this article comments that it is amazing that a formula of this kind hastily devised and applicable to a case in 1834 should have been handed down with blind acceptance by courts not only in England but also in this country for so many years. In England the absurdities arising out of the blind usage of this formula were met to a certain extent by the device of adjudging an individual as being "guilty but insane." This, of course, is a policy of nullification. Later arose the device of considering an individual as acting under "irresistible impulse" but the law did not care to go further in defining what is meant by this term. In the United States the use of these devices has not come about to any degree and in many states McNaughton's Formula still holds in spite of the very large accumulation of medical testimony to show the futility of judgment of responsibility on this basis. The trend throughout, however, is decidedly in the direction of reducing the concept of the protection of the rights of the individual and of giving greater emphasis upon the protection of the community from a menace. In passing, it is interesting to note that this is in line with centralization of authority with the loss of individual rights in unique social and political fields. To a large extent it may be that the protection of the community formula of modern jurisprudence is an outgrowth of the wider application of the principle of centralization of authority.

A treatment program on broad general lines is offered by the author which challenges existing systems to such a degree that the statement is worthy of verbatim quotation:

"Protect the lower fraction of the social structure from the fierce pressure of a competitive system, alleviate the distorting and disturbing tensions which the less than average person feels, treat criminality by curing widespread maladjustments, and it is reasonable to believe you will see a sharp fall in crime and in admission to mental institutions. Deterioration of the inadequate personality

is partially a symptom of a social organization not fully adapted to protecting its weakest members."

Under the topic *Forensic Pathology* which is the second subdivision of scientific proof, the material dealing with the relationship of trauma to disease can be roughly grouped into the identification of persons, identification of time and cause of death (or of non-fatal injury) and the abnormality of the physical condition of the subject under litigation with some prognosis as to the duration of such injury or disease. The chief obstacle to carrying out these investigations in an adequate manner is the obsolete system of clearing through the coroner's office. As is well-known the coroner has the power of conducting hearings, subpoenaing witnesses and examining into testimony which more properly is a function of the court of hearing. In some forty-one states where coroners' procedure interposes itself between the events of the overt act and the formal court hearing, scientific evidence can often be lost through delay and oversight. The proceedings are of no legal significance and merely represent quasi-judicial procedure handed down from the time of King Alfred. The coroner's office, of course, should be replaced by a medical examiner who works directly with the court and who is prepared to make his reports directly thereto. The question of the legal right to exhume and to make post-mortems on cases suspected of murder is always a delicate legal procedure and many coroners do not feel that they have sufficient authority to make this undertaking. Consequently evidence which should be available becomes suppressed. The medical examiner appointed by the court would be in direct authority to carry out such postmortem and exhumation proceedings as the case warrants.

Scientific crime detection has received tremendous impulse through the scientific laboratories and organized crime detection bureaus, the most notable of which is the F. B. I. of the Federal Government. Every phase of scientific investigation has been brought to bear upon the solution of crime through laboratory procedures and the perpetrators of criminal acts have been brought to justice through these procedures alone. The question of admissibility of

such laboratory procedures as evidence is one which always confronts the laboratory worker and usually it takes a number of years of constant application of techniques before the court is willing to recognize the validity of this type of evidence. There is an obstacle in the proper development of adequate crime laboratories which obtains particularly in the smaller correctional organizations; namely, that personnel is constantly being recruited from the lines of police officers on a seniority principle. Obviously, the best detective in the world need not necessarily be a good scientific laboratory man. Properly trained individuals for this field should come out of the laboratories of large universities and the individual need not have the slightest knowledge of the apprehension of criminals in order to perform satisfactory work in a scientific laboratory.

The concluding sections of the article deal with scientific modes and mechanisms of proof with especial reference to public law problems in medical practice and the philosophic relationship of law to medical practice. Scientific analysis, according to Ezra Pond, has outrun social synthesis. As a result, scientific techniques and procedures have come into being which the law has not been ready to accept on the ground that their legal utility has not been proven. A scale of probity, as it now exists, includes fingerprints, chemistry, blood group work, handwriting, forensic pathology, clinical forensic medicine, etc. Of this group, identification by means of fingerprints is the only technique which has received full legal acceptance. Most lawyers are not equipped to question expert witnesses on their own ground and, therefore, they are not in a position to analyze data and establish the criteria for knowing what is possible, impossible, or limited within the rules of scientific evidence. Suggestion has been made that a national scientific commission be established. Such a body would be made up of qualified legal and scientific individuals who could look into scientific procedures for the purpose of establishing their admissibility as evidence, thereby meeting the three cardinal legal points of relevancy, probative value and persuasive value. The medical profession must realize that the jurisprudential use of scientific techniques has definite

limitations. Legislation is not founded on medical knowledge. Furthermore, medical procedures touch only a small proportion of the vast material handled by the judiciary. The position of the expert witness is determined by the law of evidence which is an integral part of the systematized field of law. The laws of evidence must operate not only in cases involving medical testimony but for a vast body of non-medical problems and, therefore, such laws must be drawn to meet the general need of legislation rather than specific needs of expert testimony. In general, it may be said that legislation which rests upon scientific premises can and must be tested by scientific principles; hence, the need for a scientific commission to investigate the possibility of this relationship.

V. C. B.

A CASE OF SIMULATED EPILEPSY. CARLOS BUENO PICON. *Revista de Medicina Legal de Colombia*. 5:67-72. Aug.-Dec. 1942.

The author presents a detailed case study of a homicidal murderer who feigned epilepsy in order to escape the consequences of his crime. He carefully elaborates the step by step procedure and the background of theory by which he was able to properly evaluate the case and make the correct diagnosis of malingering by faking an epileptic fit.

The subject, N. N., was 27 years old, single and without any schooling. No data was available concerning his family history. However, he had a personal history of bad conduct due to frequent brawls and fights. He was regarded by his neighbors as a quarrelsome individual. Physical examination failed to reveal any organic abnormalities except some slight symptoms of inflammation of the meninges. These were the result of a specific infection which slowly subsided under treatment.

Although the patient had a very poor memory and attention span, he was perfectly oriented for time and space. His complete illiteracy did not permit full evaluation of the association of his ideas but they were, on the whole, well integrated with occasional irrelevant responses centering about the symptoms of the

seizure from which he claimed to have suffered. Even though he was a morally desensitized individual, he displayed definite egocentric tendencies.

Dr. Picon describes the crime itself in great detail. On the 14th or 15th of November, 1937, Neftali Martinez assaulted Alcides Ospina Orozco. Martinez hid all night to elude capture by the police. On the following morning he was apprehended by two police officers who proceeded to take him to jail. While one of them walked a little ahead of the prisoner, N. N., the brother of the man who was assaulted by Martinez, and who was drinking in the shop of Antonio Pineda, about 13 meters away, suddenly ran out of the shop and stealthily stabbed and killed Martinez with a knife. N. N. then ran back into Pineda's shop, hid the knife and barred the door to the shop to prevent the police from entering. The officers attempted to force the door which was being held closed by N. N., who finally yielded because of the cries of the shopkeeper, Pineda, who yelled that he didn't want his door damaged. When the police entered, they found the subject on the floor, presumably having had an epileptic seizure. Dr. Picon was called in later in order to study the patient to help determine the extent of his legal and moral responsibility for the crime.

The writer next discusses the theoretical background of the medico-legal problems involved in epilepsy and its psychic equivalents. He first makes the point that it is not sufficient to merely confirm the diagnosis of epilepsy in order to establish lack of responsibility or culpability for a crime. This is because even the clear cut epileptic (grand mal, petit mal, epileptic equivalent, et al) can be considered, except at the time that he actually has a seizure, as a normal individual with somewhat inferior mental faculties. To arrive at a correct conclusion as to moral responsibility, an analysis has to be made of the criminal act itself together with the circumstances under which it occurred.

Secondly, in the case of grand mal seizures there is usually a conscious warning of the oncoming attack which often permits the patient time to prepare himself to avoid injury. The attack itself is an automatic, profound, very brief and

brutal occurrence with sudden ghastly contortions of the face, paleness and uncontrollable, incoherent, mechanistic contractions of the muscles. All the activity takes place like the movements of a machine.

In the psychic epileptic equivalent reactions, conscious control plays no part and the action of the patient is characterized by a blind impulsiveness in which the subject might, without apparent cause, violently assault anybody who may be around. He is like a ferocious, unchained beast who plunges himself on a chance victim.

Dr. Picon agrees with Claude that when the criminal act is produced as a manifestation of an acute attack of epilepsy, the individual finds himself in a state of temporary dementia created by the attack and is not morally responsible for his crime. However, when the act is accomplished without an epileptic fit by an individual going through an emotional crisis, it must be ascertained whether the crime was premeditated, discussed and executed with lucidity. In such a case the individual is judged to be legally responsible and judicial action should follow its normal course.

The malingerer is usually impressed by the cardinal symptom of true epilepsy, the spontaneous convulsive seizure with loss of consciousness, and thus frequently tries to feign excessive unconsciousness. If the psychiatrist or physician is present during the attack there is no risk of the fraud not being detected. Even if he arrives a few moments after the fit or crisis he will find symptomatic remnants of the seizure such as the extension of the first finger joint, diminution of certain reflexes, general hypotonicity and speech disturbances.

However, most frequently the doctor sees the patient some time after the crisis and finds only very slight psychic disturbances such as traumatic symptoms caused by the paroxysms, obtuse and sluggish comprehension, unmotivated character transformations similar to fugues and pyromania. These characteristics, though not unique, most frequently help the diagnosis even more than the fit or crisis itself because it is possible to feign a seizure to perfection but it is not easy

to imitate these other pathognomonic signs.

From the psychological point of view, the morbid act of the epileptic results from a suddenly appearing impulse causing the criminal act without any premeditation or reasoning on the part of the subject. Most often it is a homicide perpetrated with extraordinary violence, in a state of "morbid irascibility." The blows are repeated unnecessarily and the assault is bloody, frequently mangling the flesh of the victim. It occurs very quickly, "like a thunderbolt in a serene sky."

In applying all of the above criteria to the case of N. N., Dr. Picon indicates that the homicide resulted from a felt grievance, a rational sequence of events, and a desire to avenge the wounding of his brother. The deed was executed through the use of reasoning and judgment, so that the subject was certainly aware of the consequences of his act. He sees the victim pass and studies the opportune moment for the attack: "when one of the police officers has gone a little ahead of the others, he came out furtively." Another element of consciousness is the stealthiness with which he stabbed the victim, not repeating the blows thus showing a planning for the better execution of the crime. After the stabbing, he runs back to Pineda's shop, hides the knife, closes and bars the door himself, and only when he realizes the futility of his resistance does he fall to the ground in an "epileptic fit." Thus, throughout the occurrence, N. N. acted in accordance with the instinct of self-preservation and showed a perfect imagination. The act was premeditated, thought out logically and carried out through integrated activity and with voluntary control.

To dismiss the possibility of this case being one of psychic epileptic equivalent which would explain the murder as the result of emotion occasioned by the sight of his brother's assailant the author points out that an act of that kind would have taken place spontaneously without the appraisal of the possible consequences and the patient would have thrown himself indiscriminately upon any one of the group of police or the victim with extreme cruelty and ferociousness and would not have fled. The deed would have occurred as a "short circuit passing through the motor

highways as a simple reflex, without volitional or intellectual control."

As evidence that N. N., consciously simulated or feigned epilepsy as a last defensive recourse, the writer cites his past history of fights and brawls. To answer the objection that N. N. was completely illiterate and thus could not have been familiar with any of the symptoms of epilepsy, facts are cited indicating that in the region where the patient lived and where the homicide occurred, according to authentic information there had been numerous crimes whose perpetrators were declared morally and legally irresponsible as a result of proof of epilepsy. N. N. persisted in stressing his amnesia for the happening during the homicide and immediately thereafter. He exaggerated to such an extent that it was obvious he was malingering. Many other facts are brought out confirming that this was a case of simulated epilepsy.

In summary, Dr. Picon states that after many months of observation not even one epileptic attack occurred in N. N. Repeated psychosomatic examination revealed no pathognomonic signs of the malady. The total amnesia was simulated. The criminal act shows all the characteristics of a normal act having nothing in common with any of the forms of epilepsy or epileptic equivalents.

Samuel B. Kutash,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF IRRESISTIBLE IMPULSE.
JESSE SPIRER. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. 33:457-462, March-April 1943.

The mental element (*mens rea*, criminal intent, vicious will, guilty mind, etc.) in criminal acts is recognized by law and characterized by a wilfulness to commit the crime or act in question. When this wilfulness or volition is actually or constructively absent, there is generally no crime. Insanity is the best known of the conditions which negate the element of

volition or criminal intent. Three types of insanity were recognized in a celebrated Pennsylvania case: general partial, and, moral or homicidal. The last is evidently synonymous with the present-day concept, irresistible impulse, or at any rate has become so with usage. There is no clear cut meaning as to the term in both the legal and psychiatric literature. It is generally thought that an impulse is characterized by a sudden and undeliberated inclination to act. "From the writer's viewpoint, it is a serious error to limit the concept of irresistible impulse to the insanities, for such a limitation is fictitious and arbitrary, without sound theoretical or factual basis."

According to research, behavior impulses arise from numerous sources. The relationship between glandular function and behavior has been demonstrated by the endocrinologists. In the hyperthyroid we may ask the question whether there is a point at which "impulses to act which are of glandular origin, and which are normally integrated into the body, become irresistible as a result of glandular pathology. If this be so then there is clearly an irresistible impulse beyond the sanities. Again, in the normal rhythmical bodily activities of a female rat psychologically we know that she becomes more active during the oestrus than at other periods and we can easily demonstrate the existence of an activity cycle which is apparently related to the oestrus cycle. To what extent is this irresistible?

Irresistible impulse is also found in emotion, psychoneurosis and habit. Cannon in "Bodily Changes" indicates the energizing effect of driving the body to action by the bodily changes in the sundry emotions. Kempf states "Anger compels an attack upon the painful stimulus." Not every person thus emotionally stimulated finds release in an aggressive act. Fortunately we are able to resist emotional impulses up to a certain point because our emotions are under the control of the higher brain centers. "When this resistance has been overcome, and the control of the higher centers of the brain no longer functions, the ensuing behavior is unpredictable, and the impulse to do a specific act is for all intents and purposes, irresistible.

In the psychoneuroses we find another form of irresistible impulses. The psychoneurotic is suggestible, emotionally unstable, socially inadequate, or he suffers from excessive anxiety or tension, or his behavior is stereotyped and there is restriction of spontaneity. Impulsions in the psychoneurotic can be resisted up to a certain point. The irresistible nature of kleptomania, nymphomania, pyromania, dipsomania, dromomania, homicidal mania, etc., are well known. And some of these continue as habits even with the removal of the cause of the neurosis. There is essentially no difference, psychologically, in learning to be a criminal and learning to be something else. Through habit a man may no longer be able to resist his criminal impulses than can creatures of other habits.

It is erroneous to speak of a single kind of irresistible behavior though the law does so. It is also to be noted that there is no clear demarcation between irresistible and resistible impulses. Instead of permitting irresistible impulse as a defense, the law should hold that the stronger the impulse, the greater the need for treatment.

Chester D. Owens,

Woodbourne, N. Y.

THE ACUTE PSYCHOSEXUAL SITUATION: LEGAL MEANING AND DIAGNOSIS. W. G. ELIASBERG. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. 33:443-456, March-April 1943.

Sexual motivation is often disputed in some crimes but it does exist. A young child's statement of a sex offense of which she is the victim and only witness is not accepted in many states without an adult witness. The child is thus left without protection from an adult offender. Instead

it should be recalled that the child's apprehension is on a child's level and is lacking in grown-up perspectives. Lawyers attempt to shatter the statement of the child on the basis of too much psychosexual eroticism and apprehension being present and thus shatter the credibility of the whole testimony. The psychology of crimes failed to yield a useful system, but objective criteria should be used.

Eroticism should not be measured by a device, electrical or other. Nobody could possibly witness or analyze for the court the blood pressure curves in sexual excitement from climax to relaxation. What is erotic is a bio-sociological situation in which "biological urges and social, moral and esthetic patterns cooperate with and rival one another and are intertwined." In this instant a definition comprising the following is offered—"sociological situation with the background of our culture, and the biological, sociological and historical developments, combining in this way archaic, primitive, deviated, antiquated, ontogenetically early childhood patterns with the generally recognized patterns of our culture." A method of diagnosis would also be necessary. This would be to find some marks "which would allow the diagnosis irrespective of whether the other tasks are already fulfilled."

In summary: the problem of diagnosing an actual psychosexual situation consists in "finding or excluding a characteristic pattern of the succession of action phases, namely, a physiologically or psychologically masochistic phase, a phase of violence and aggression and final collapse." Several other problems including an investigation of stimuli and their discussion, the presence of the criterion proposed in this paper which shall establish the diagnosis of a psychosexual situation, and the revival of objective psychology of the deed shall definitely establish in the minds of the jury the question of guilt or innocence. The jury shall not be obliged to be too dependent on the symbolism of psychiatry.

Chester D. Owens,

Woodbourne, N. Y.

G - Medicine & Biology

BURROW'S DIFFERENTIATION OF TENSIONAL PATTERNS IN RELATION TO BEHAVIOR DISORDERS. HANS SYZ. *The Journal of Psychology*. 9:153-163. 1940.

The postulates of Trigant Burrow have always been rather obtruse to the reviewer and this may not be an isolated instance inasmuch as Dr. Syz in the article under discussion states "It is difficult to discuss these procedures because they represent material, structures, organizations, that do not yet enjoy popular recognition and are in a state of experimental definition. Interpretive procedure, of course, is dependent upon the amount of comparative observation and experience (both internal and external) that the interpreter can bring to bear on the situation. This cannot be made articulate until some common ground of expression can be devised. Dr. Burrow's work in general has not provided the usual investigator with working tools of expression which can be related to those of other schools of thought. Some such explanation may account for the major portion of the obtruseness of his material.

Burrow is iconoclastic to the extent that he believes that the present approach made to behaviorism by psychologists and psychiatrists is, figuratively speaking, in a cul-de-sac. He states that they have been able to push their observations just so far and cannot go further through the direct line of approach of investigating presenting symptoms such as hallucinations, delusions, etc. He would turn entirely from symptomatology and would empirically investigate what he calls an "Altered Frame of Reference," which is essentially the investigation of organismic function (Phylopathology). In other words, this is an a priori method of reasoning from the whole situation to its parts, rather than the usual method of investigating symptomatology and then building up the clinical whole for investigation so as to arrive at a conclusion of operating mechanisms and causation. Burrow states that some feeble and poorly-organized efforts in this direction have already been made by the Gestalt School. The introduction of the concept of "configuration," "pattern," "field force," etc., indicates to his mind that the

trend of modern psychological thought in the field of behaviorism is in the direction of his own theories.

By the simple device of ignoring symptomatology and investigating the organism as a whole, one frees himself from limiting influences such as obtain in the direct method of approach of analysis in psychiatric investigation. It is well known in the analytic field that the analyst's own personality difficulties create blind spots which prevent him from interpreting similar disorders in the analysand. To obviate this difficulty the analyst must be psychoanalyzed himself thereby obtaining insight into these arid regions of his own makeup. In a larger sense, according to Burrow, this same mechanism obtains in any direct approach to the evaluation of symptomatology. He insists quite rightly that the investigation must include every phase of the psychobiological development of the individual. Attention is directed not toward the ideas, wishes, concerns, images and fantasies of the patient but rather toward the entire organismal force of the individual which relates that individual to himself and to his environment. The organism as a totality seems to sense physiologically for action of specific partial patterns. From a psychological point of view the prototype of this is affectivity, a feeling-tone by which one subtly relates himself to other individuals and evaluates their affectivity toward him.

Burrow speaks of two of these tensional patterns correlated with external behavior and gives them the designation of attention and cotention. In the former, the organism as a whole relates itself in a neuro-muscular tension pattern with the object or situation which it is contacting at the moment. Burrow admits that these adaptive movements which are both internal and external are conditioned by symbolic behavior and social training. In the second pattern, known as cotention, the interaction between the individual and his environment takes place at a deeper level than mere affectivity, projection and introjection. Evaluation such as likes and dislikes, praise and blame, good and bad, and other fluctuating surface phenomena are ignored by the organism which acts not on the basis of ideation but physiologically. The adaptive behavior is an in-

tegrated system of physiological balances involving the autonomic nervous system, central nervous system and interacting hormones functionally interrelated in such a way as to produce an adaptive preparation for the individual meeting a situation. Dr. Syz has concisely indicated the integrative physiological adaptive behavior of the organism in the following words:

"Every living cell and every organism represents a complex configuration in which chemical reactions, physical forces, electrical potentials, and nervous impulses, organized within an intricate network of semi-permeable membranes, form a functioning whole. The different parts, aspects, or phases are in a dynamic interchange; they are "integrated" parts of the larger whole. A disturbance in one part (e. g. a toxic effect) will specifically modify the function of the total structure."

Thus it will be seen that the balanced neuromuscular or tensional adaptation of the individual on the one hand with the deeply-seated physiological balances attained internally on the other, prepare that individual for aggressive or recessive behavior toward an object or situation as the occasion seems to warrant. Such a method wholly abrogates convention, personal and emotional discrimination, and according to Burrow, for the first time behavior is approached on a truly scientific basis. The examiner is able to rule out his own personality difficulties and to ignore entirely subjective material of his patient. The conflict with or frustration of the patterns of attention and cotention, constitutes "the organismic denominator to which disorders of behavior are ultimately to be referred."

Burrow furthermore states that his postulates are not purely speculative but that clinical investigation over a period of several years has tended increasingly to confirm his viewpoints. He has found, for example, that ocular distress is quite common in the neuroses, especially anxiety states and hysteria. Eye movements and respiration which are functionally interfered with in these conditions are directly related to the autonomic and corticospinal systems providing the necessary intermediation required and related to the cotentional pattern mentioned above. Coincident with these changes are noted fluctuations in blood pressure changes in the

peripheral vascular system and other vasomotor fields. It has been noted that when psychopaths are treated on the basis of attention directed to the cotentional field rather than to the presenting symptoms themselves that affect-attachments tend to disappear and that the individual focuses less and less upon his desires, wishes and other related symptoms. In so doing he does not suffer a loss of feeling tone but he finds that his security no longer depends upon holding to an artificially stimulated fantasy with all its false compensations. He becomes physiologically related to himself and therefore independent of his ideations. This procedure then provides a therapeutic approach of much greater promise than psychiatry has yet evolved.

Burrow has made some rather interesting speculations regarding the use of symbolism by modern man. Anthropologically speaking, man has only recently placed his behavior upon a symbolical basis. In his early history he reacted directly, decisively and often destructively without the resort to symbolism. As urbanization increased, specialization of effort became necessary and symbolism became the earmark of adapted behavior. For example, in the past arguments were settled by violence directly between the parties concerned. Modern man, however, provides substitutes or symbols through the use of court procedure to settle these arguments. Instead of direct barter, he uses a symbol, the credit system. Psychologically he deals with situations through compromises, subterfuges, escape devices, fantasy, wishful thinking and other means of replacing the direct object by a symbol. To Burrow this means a sense of frustration to the individual and the liberation which that individual had the right to expect through the use of symbolism has really led to regimentation. Theoretically, through the use of substitutes the natural resources of the individual and of the race should become liberated but practically it has not worked out this way and the individual finds that he has built a Frankenstein for himself to which he must be subservient. The reviewer would like to add at this point that the background of the present World War in a large way indicates some of the points that Burrow is bringing out in the phytopathological relationship to individual behavior.

V. C. B.



Latin American News and Comments

by S. B. KUTASH

Announcement

For some time the editor, Dr. V. C. Branham has endeavored to make available to *Journal* readers some of the rich Latin American literature in the fields of criminal psychopathology, legal medicine, forensic psychiatry and criminology. The *Journal* has published in recent issues two translations of important articles by Dr. Pablo Wolff, of Argentina, on Narcotic Addiction and Criminality and by Dr. Jose Belbey on Psychoanalysis and Crime. In addition, about ten abstracts have been made available, of worthy articles which appeared in the South American literature; representing the works of such eminent scientists as Drs. Nerio Rojas, Jose Belbey, Susana Solano, Floro Lavalle, Albert Bonhour, and Alfredo Sanchi of Argentina as well as Drs. Geneveva de Godoy, Augustio Castro, of Ecuador, and Dr. Leonidio Ribeiro, of Brazil. The present issue contains abstracts of the work of Drs. Guillermo Uribe Cualla and Carlos Bueno Picón of Colombia.

The wide interest stimulated both in this country and abroad has impelled the *Journal* to begin with this issue a special section devoted to notes and news from our good neighbors in the Americas concerning the work being done in this hemisphere in criminal psychopathology. In this way we will keep our subscribers informed of important national and international congresses held in Latin American Countries, legislative innovations relating to the various Latin American Legal Codes, courses and lecture series and valuable journals, books and articles published in these countries. This section will also serve as a medium for establishing closer ties and relationships between the Spanish speaking and English speaking countries of the Americas.

The Third Annual Meeting of Pan-American Neuropsychiatrists is being held in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Those interested in receiving an official bulletin of the meeting including the scheduled addresses and topics can communicate with Dr. Nerio Rojas, Presidente, Tercera Reunión de Las Jornadas Neuro-Psiquiatricas Panamericanas, Instituto de Medicina Legal, Cordoba 2122, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Dr. Leonidio Ribeiro, eminent authority on forensic psychiatry and legal medicine of Brazil, has just published an extensive scholarly analysis of the New Penal Code of Brazil from the point of view of Legal Medicine. This 385 page book represents a concrete example of the active participation of a medical psychiatrist in influencing the framing of criminal laws of his country so that they would conform to the best scientific psychiatric knowledge about criminal psychopathology. Some of the topics dealt with are the medico-legal problems involved in abortion cases, therapeutic abortions, insanity and legal responsibility, sciatic neuralgia, lumbago, epilepsy, sexual inversion, the endocrine theory of homosexuality, sex crimes, spiritism, infanticide, puerperal insanity, mental deficiency, psychopathic states, etc. The questions of legal responsibility and medical jurisprudence are amply discussed. The Brazilian Code is compared with those of many other countries including Soviet Russia, Italy, Argentina and the United States. The work, written in Portuguese, will repay study by American psychiatrists and criminologists.

Dr. Rogelio E. Carratola, of Argentina, presented an important paper at the First Latin American Congress of Criminology which has just been published in book form, entitled "Toxicomania and Delinquency." It discusses the origin and description of toxicomania, the relation between crime and toxicomania, and an analysis of crimes committed by individuals suffering from toxicomania. Dr. Carratola concludes by making recommendations for legislative action which would take into account the scientific facts. The author is professor of toxicology at the University of LaPlata.

Volumes VI (1940) and VII (1941) of the Annals of the Argentinian Society of Criminology have been published under the editorship of Dr. Oswaldo Loudet of that country. It presents the papers delivered at the annual meetings of 1940 and 1941 and the principal scientific activities in criminology in Argentina. Some of the more important papers are: "Criminal Justice in Ancient Peru" by Julio A. Smythe; "Psychology of Suicide" by Angel Garma; "Feminine Delinquency in Chile" by Felicitas Alvaredo; "The Psychoanalyst Face to Face with the Penal Code" by Carlos V. Ferreyra; "A New Technique for the Diagnosis of Aggressiveness" by Emilio Mira Lopez; and "The Use of the Rorschach Technique and the Bernreuter Personality Inventory with Homicide Cases" by Bernardo Lerebrisky.



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